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SIR THOMAS BROWNE

RELIGIO MEDICI

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SIR THOMAS BROWNE

RELIGIO MEDICI

EDITED BY

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PREFACE

IN editing *Religio Medici* I have had three aims especially in view: first, to make clear Browne's numerous biblical and classical allusions and quotations to a century less familiar than Browne's was with the Bible and with Greek and Roman authors; next, to illustrate *Religio Medici* by means of passages from Browne's other works; and to explain as precisely as possible strange words and phrases. This last aim has been rendered comparatively easy through the invaluable help of the *Oxford English Dictionary*.

For further study the following are recommended: Browne's *Works* edited by Wilkin, and by Sayle; *Religio Medici* edited by Greenhill, by St John, and by Waller; Life in *Dictionary of National Biography*, and by Gosse ("English Men of Letters"); Leslie Stephen's *Hours in a Library*, 2nd Series; *Cambridge History of English Literature*, vol. VII; *Sir Thomas Browne: his Skull, Portraits and Ancestry* (reprinted from *Biometrika*, vol. XV); *A Bibliography of Sir Thomas Browne* by Geoffrey Keynes.

I wish to acknowledge helpful advice and other assistance generously given by Mr A. R. Waller.

W. M.

June 1922.

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION:

PAGE

I. LIFE OF BROWNE ix

II. *RELIGIO MEDICI* xv

III. BROWNE'S LANGUAGE xix

IV. BROWNE'S HUMOUR xxiii

V. BROWNE'S LATINISMS xxiv

TEXT OF *RELIGIO MEDICI*:

THE FIRST PART 1

THE SECOND PART 83

NOTES 115

APPENDIX 263

INDEX TO NOTES 264

INTRODUCTION

I. LIFE OF BROWNE

"Our most imaginative mind since Shakespeare."
J. RUSSELL LOWELL

"At my Nativity," says Browne in *Religio Medici*, "my Ascendant was the watery sign of Scorpius; I was born in the Planetary hour of Saturn." By this he means that he was born on a Saturday in October. It was the 19th day of the month, in the year 1605. The place was St Michael-le-Quern in Cheapside. His father, also Thomas, by birth sprung from a family of Cheshire squires and by occupation a London mercer, died early; and his mother married Sir Thomas Dutton. Rapacious guardians are said to have destroyed the child's patrimony; but his youthful years show no sign of poverty. He went to Winchester School in 1616, and to Oxford in 1623. There he matriculated a fellow-commoner of Broadgates Hall, which changed its name to Pembroke College before he left the University. Of his Oxford career we can say little, except that at the University, as previously at school, he must have been acquiring that wide knowledge of Latin and Greek which he displays throughout his writings. Oxford could afford him very scanty instruction in science or medicine; but, even before his Oxford days, he had begun to botanise. Speaking of his acquaintance with the plants around Halifax, he declares in *Religio Medici* that he seems to know fewer than when he knew only a hundred and gathered his specimens in Cheapside.

Browne proceeded B.A. in 1626, M.A. in 1629. About this time he visited Ireland with his step-father; but we

have only fugitive references to his stay there. In 1630 he left England for the South of France, to study at Montpellier, long noted for its medical school, especially the departments of botany and anatomy. Next he went to Padua University, then in high repute for scientific and medical studies, in particular surgery, physiology and anatomy. He finished his Continental sojourn by studying in Holland, at Leyden, which was specially renowned for chemistry. There he is believed to have graduated M.D.

He was back in England in 1633, and settled near Halifax. In July, 1637, he was incorporated doctor of physic at Oxford, and soon after began the practice of his profession in Norwich, where he was to remain till his death forty-five years later. In 1641 he married Dorothy Mileham, sixteen years his junior. She was "a lady of such symmetrical proportion to her worthy husband, both in the graces of her body and mind, that they seemed to come together by a kind of natural magnetism." The wits found matter for raillery in the marriage, since Browne had appeared to despise matrimony in *Religio Medici*, which though not yet published was freely circulating in manuscript.

The outbreak of the Great Rebellion was now near. Norfolk was puritan, and the men of Norwich were very lukewarm churchmen. When fighting began, the city was fortified in the Parliamentary interest. Browne was a royalist, but he had no intention of making a martyr of himself. Discretion, he maintained, is the better part of all actions, civil and religious. To become a martyr needlessly is simply to commit suicide. While holding it discreet, however, to abstain from active resistance, he figured once as a passive resister. In the summer of 1642, Newcastle was seized by royalist soldiers. Some months later, a fund was raised to equip Parliamentary troops for the re-capture of the strategic fortress on the Tyne. The substantial citizens of Norwich were invited to contribute. Browne was one of the 452 who declined. Other-

wise, he seems to have gone about his professional duties, regardless—outwardly at least—of state affairs. Besides, he was at this time busy with his confession of faith, *Religio Medici*, the first authorised edition of which appeared in 1643.

For a number of years Browne had been pondering over the strange ideas held by the majority of people on points of history,—natural, civil and religious—and so forth. This resulted in the publication (1646) of his *Pseudodoxia Epidemica or Enquiries into very many received tenents and commonly presumed Truths, which examined prove but Vulgar and Common Errors*. In *Vulgar Errors*, as the work is usually styled, he begins by stating several causes of mistaken beliefs—the infirmity of human nature, adherence to antiquity and to authority, and—what to Browne is the greatest promoter of false opinion—the father of lies, the Devil. Many of the beliefs belong to the unnatural natural history, the kind drawn upon for similes by John Lyly in his *Euphues* and frequently alluded to by Shakespeare. Some of the errors are: the salamander lives in fire; the chameleon lives on air; the ostrich digests iron; the phœnix exists; the peacock is ashamed of its legs; the stork is found only in a republic or a free state; the world was created in the month of March; a man weighs heavier dead than alive; the elephant has no joints in his legs.

Browne intended to write *Vulgar Errors* in Latin to appeal universally to scholars, but changed his mind in order to benefit the "ingenuous gentry" of England. But it is full of strange words of Latin origin and is by no means easy reading. It contains, however, much to interest and to amuse. Scientific truth, indeed, is not Browne's sole aim. It is the investigation he enjoys; and the more marvellous a tale is, the more enthusiastic is his discussion. In addition, he was himself in no small measure imbued with the contemporary credulity.

Browne's repute for multifarious learning brought him numerous letters from various quarters—even from

Iceland; and he was always ready to answer. He answered enquiries on the plants of the Bible; on the fishes eaten by Christ after the resurrection; on artificial hills and mounds; on languages and particularly the Saxon tongue; on Troas and the cities of the Dead Sea; on Apollo's oracle to Crœsus; on whales stranded along the Norfolk coast. Besides his wide acquaintance with Latin and Greek writers—even the most out-of-the-way—he possessed a competent knowledge of the Bible in the original languages, with the commentaries thereon. Like Milton, he belonged to the select band of seventeenth-century Englishmen who read Dante's *Divina Commedia* in Italian. Other modern languages he also knew well. He was thoroughly versed in the Authorised Version of the Bible. But no other work in English—poetry or prose—does he ever mention or allude to, with the one exception of *Hudibras*, and he merely recites a list of Greek and Latin burlesques which it called to his mind.

For a dozen years Browne published nothing; and then in 1658 came *Hydriotaphia*, with its elfin melody, meditations on cinerary urns recently unearthed in Norfolk. The same volume contained *The Garden of Cyrus, or the Quincuncial, Lozenge, or Net-work Plantations of the Ancients, artificially, naturally, mystically considered.* The quincunx is an arrangement of five objects, one in each corner of a rectangle and one in the middle—exactly what we see in the five of playing-cards. So were the trees in Cyrus's garden arranged. Browne ransacks heaven and earth, sea and land, and all that they contain, to discover similar forms. He finds them in St Andrew's Cross, in architecture, in crowns, in the beds of the ancients, in the Roman battle-array, in the labyrinth of Crete, in fruits and seeds, in skins of animals, and in scales of fishes.

Not long after the publication of this volume, Cromwell died, 3rd September; and Browne rejoiced in the collapse of the protectorate and the restoration of monarchy. When coronation day came, 23rd April, 1661, it was

with deep satisfaction that, in a private letter, he described the loyal doings in Norwich, part of which was the hanging and burning in effigy of Cromwell, "whose head," Browne adds, "is now upon Westminster Hall, together with Ireton's and Bradshaw's."

Browne believed in the existence and the active malevolence of witches. In 1664 occurred an incident over which several of his biographers have waxed very angry: one of them calls it "the most culpable and the most stupid action of his life." At the spring assizes, Bury St Edmunds, two women were accused of witchcraft. Sir Matthew Hale, the Lord Chief Baron, doubted the credibility of the evidence. Instead of directing the jury to acquit, he called upon Browne to give his judgment in the case. Browne declared "he was clearly of opinion that the fits were natural, but heightened by the Devil's co-operating with the witches, at whose instance he did the villainies." Eighteenth-century writers assert that Browne's authority influenced the jury in finding the women guilty. Now, if Hale was against conviction, he acted wrongly in calling upon another to speak, and one whose belief in witches—standing in print for over twenty years—he himself must have known. Help in acquitting could hardly be expected from Browne. Hale seems to have wished to shirk responsibility. We are told he "put it off from himself as much as he could." In charging the jury, he expressed his own belief in the existence of witches, but refrained from insisting that the evidence was untrustworthy. Why should Browne be singled out for blame? He simply uttered what he sincerely believed, and his belief was that of the majority of contemporary lawyers, clergymen and philosophers. The jurymen of Bury St Edmunds hardly required Browne's authority to make them convict. At the assizes there in 1645–46 nearly fifty persons were condemned for witchcraft. New laws against witches had been passed in James I's reign; and from then to the end of Charles II's reign, some 70,000 victims are said to have suffered under these laws.

In judging Browne we must endeavour to look at matters with the eyes of Englishmen of 1664.

Four years later another find of urns was briefly chronicled in *Brampton Urns*, which was not published till 1712.

In September, 1671, King Charles visited Norwich, where he was feasted on the 29th in the New Hall, at a cost of £900. After the feast he was going to confer knighthood on the mayor, Thomas Thacker. The mayor modestly declined and begged his Majesty to bestow the honour upon their most distinguished townsman, meaning Dr Thomas Browne. Charles was graciously pleased to consent.

About this time Browne composed two works, never finally revised by him, which were posthumously published: viz. *A Letter to a Friend*—a study of one of his cases—and *Christian Morals*. The first part of *Christian Morals* is an amplified version of the closing paragraphs of *A Letter*, while the rest gives admonitions and maxims on the conduct of life.

Browne died in 1682, on the 19th of October, his birthday—an instance of "a remarkable coincidence," as he styled it in *A Letter*, when "the tail of the snake should return into its mouth precisely" upon the day of a man's nativity.

An old friend, the Rev. John Whitefoot, recorded his impressions of Browne. His complexion and hair answered to his name, even when he was over seventy years of age. He was of moderate stature, and neither fat nor lean. In dress he avoided finery and affected plainness. He was careful to keep warm. He rarely jested; and, as a rule, was not talkative. His memory was retentive, both for persons he had seen and for books he had read. He had great evenness of temperament, neither transported with mirth nor dejected with sadness. He was diligent in attendance at religious services.

We saw that, in the spring of 1661, Browne had spoken, not without satisfaction, of Cromwell's head cut from his

dead body. Three years earlier he had, in *Hydriotaphia*, expressed his horror of any interference with the dead; "to have," as he phrased it, "our sculs made drinking-bowls, and our bones turned into Pipes, to delight and sport our Enemies, are Tragical abominations." He himself was to suffer one of these "abominations." In 1840 his coffin was accidentally broken into. The sexton carried off the skull, and sold it. Later it was placed in the pathological museum of the Norfolk and Norwich Hospital. Now, in 1922, we are glad to chronicle its restoration to its first resting-place*.

"When the Funerall pyre was out," says "The Epistle Dedicatory" of *Hydriotaphia*, "and the last valediction over, men took a lasting adieu of their interred Friends, little expecting the curiosity of future ages should comment upon their ashes, and having no old experience of the duration of their Reliques, held no opinion of such after-considerations.

But who knows the fate of his bones, or how often he is to be buried? who hath the Oracle of his ashes, or whether they are to be scattered."

II. RELIGIO MEDICI

Browne composed *Religio Medici* in 1635–36 (see pp. 58, 106) while he was in the Halifax district. Writing in 1643 ("To the Reader"), he said:

"This, I confess, about seven years past, with some others of affinity thereto, for my private exercise and satisfaction, I had at leisurable hours composed; which being communicated unto one, it became common unto many, and was by Transcription successively corrupted, until it arrived in a most depraved Copy at the Press. He that shall peruse that Work, and shall take notice of sundry particulars and personal expressions therein, will easily discern the intention was not publick: and being a private Exercise directed to my self, what is delivered therein was rather a memorial unto me, than an

* See Sir Arthur Keith's letter in *The Times Literary Supplement*, 11th May, 1922.

Example or Rule unto any other....It was penned in such a place and with such disadvantage, that (I protest) from the first setting of pen unto paper, I had not the assistance of any good Book, whereby to promote my invention, or relieve my memory....There are many things delivered Rhetorically, many expressions therein meerly Tropical, and as they best illustrate my intention; and therefore also there are many things to be taken in a soft and flexible sense, and not to be called unto the rigid test of Reason. Lastly, all that is contained therein is in submission unto maturer discernments; and, as I have declared, shall no further father them than the best and learned judgments shall authorize them: under favour of which considerations, I have made its secrecy publick, and committed the truth thereof to every Ingenuous Reader."

Browne's confession of faith as set forth in *Religio Medici* might be summarised as follows:

THE FIRST PART

§§ 1–4. His Christianity is that of the Reformed Faith. Though, in the multiplicity of church systems, he sees little hope of union, he does not allow differences of opinion to separate him from other Christians.

§§ 5–8. He is a Church of England man, but claims liberty on points outside the Articles. He avoids disputes on religion. He keeps the beaten path; and though, in his youth, he entertained errors, yet these never grew into heresies.

§§ 9–10. Browne's attitude to the mysteries of religion.

§§ 11–12. God's Eternity: its relation to the Trinity.

§ 13. God's Wisdom. It is honoured by man when he traces God in the works of Nature.

§§ 14–17. God's Providence and Nature. Another way of Nature is misnamed Fortune.

§§ 18–22. Atheism, and disbelief in the statements of Scripture.

§§ 23–24. The Bible is God's word, and the best of books. There are too many books.

§§ 25–26. The Jews' obstinacy: the Christians' want of constancy. Persecution and martyrs.

§§ 27–34. Miracles, oracles, witches, magic and philosophy. The world-spirit. Man is the link between the world of spirits and the world of matter.

§§ 35—36. The mystery of Creation. The creation of man.

§§ 37–44. Browne's attitude to life and death.

§§ 45–52. Death, Judgment, Heaven, Hell.

§ 53. God's mercy in Browne's life.

§§ 54–59. Salvation in Christ alone.

§ 60. Faith. Conclusion.

THE SECOND PART

§§ 1–2. Browne's motive in cultivating charity—with a digression on physiognomy.

§ 3. To impart knowledge is charity. Quarrels of learned men and libels in histories are breaches of charity.

§ 4. An indictment against a whole nation is a breach of charity. Why Browne is not angry with the folly and madness of the multitude. The danger of judging others. How a man is his own worst enemy.

§§ 5–6. Sympathy and friendship.

§ 7. Revenge.

§ 8. Browne's sins are many, but do not include pride.

§ 9. Marriage and harmony. Love to mankind.

§ 10. Every man has good in him. Browne fears the bad in himself.

§§ 11–12. Browne's life has been a miracle, a romance. His happiness is the result of contentment. Dreams and sleep.

§ 13. Browne is not rich and is not a slave to avarice. A poor man may be liberal. Fallacy of a commonwealth without poverty.

§ 14. Charity is to love God for Himself and our neighbour for God's sake.

§ 15. Conclusion: no happiness except in God.

As Browne himself (see p. xv) has told us, soon after *Religio Medici* was written, it circulated among his friends in manuscript. Of the transcriptions, five are still extant. One copy fell into the hands of a London publisher, Andrew Crooke, who printed it, in 1642, without asking Browne's permission and without Browne's name on the title-page. The book was widely read and discussed. The Earl of Dorset recommended it to Sir Kenelm Digby, who at once sent his servant to St Paul's Churchyard to buy a copy. When the servant returned, Digby was in bed; but he read the whole book before he fell asleep, wakened early, and started to write animadversions with such impetuosity that, within twenty-four hours of receiving Dorset's letter, he had finished a treatise almost half the length of *Religio Medici*. Shortly after this, learning that the animadversions were to be published, Browne wrote requesting Digby to delay publication till an authentic text should appear. Digby refused. Browne then made necessary changes, and Crooke issued in 1643 the first authorised edition.

It had many readers, not merely in England but also on the Continent. It was translated into French, Dutch, German, Italian, and Latin. Ten editions in Latin appeared between 1644 and 1743. Nearly forty English editions have been published. Some of its contemporary readers censured it severely, as Alexander Ross in *Medicus Medicatus or the Physician's Religion cured by a Lenitive or Gentle Potion*. Here Browne is accused of applying "rhetorical phrase" to religion, of believing in judicial astrology, and generally of heresy. Other readers, as Guy Patin, the renowned Parisian savant, praised *Religio Medici* highly; while Samuel Pepys (*Diary*, 27th January, 1663–4) quotes Sir William Petty as saying that in all his life these three books were the most esteemed and generally cried up for wit in the world—*Religio Medici*, Osborne's *Advice to a Son*, and *Hudibras*.

One thing puzzled Browne's readers. What was his religion? He called himself a Church of England man.

But Duncon, a Norwich Quaker, was convinced that he was not, and hoped to get him to join the Friends. The editor of the French translation considered Browne to be in reality a Roman Catholic. Much depended on the angle from which *Religio Medici* was viewed. For, as has been said, it combines daring scepticism with implicit faith in revelation. The Papal authorities, however, had no doubt about the book. Browne had been kindly and tolerant (see pp. 2 *sqq.*, 89 *sq.*) in his references to the Pope and to Roman Catholicism, but that did not save from condemnation. Under date 18th December, 1646, *Religio Medici* was decreed to be placed on the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*.

The text of the present edition is from the 1682 edition—the last published in Browne's lifetime. It has been compared with earlier editions. The corrections which have been made are noted as they occur. Obvious misprints have been removed without remark; e.g. *Magasthenes* to *Megasthenes*, p. 41.

III. BROWNE'S LANGUAGE

Browne's English contains forms and constructions which are now obsolete or archaic. To save repetition in the notes, some of those occurring frequently are here collected and discussed.

The variety of forms in the genitive case shows how unsettled the usage was in the seventeenth century. We find examples of the modern genitive singular: *Homer's*, p. 26; *Husbandman's*, p. 103; *Sun's*, p. 104. But forms with no apostrophe are more frequent; as *mans*, p. 7; *Families*, p. 33; *worlds*, p. 71. Words ending in a sibilant sometimes appear with neither *-s* nor apostrophe: *Moses*, p. 16; *Suarez*, p. 19; *Paracelsus*, p. 51. Adding *his* for the genitive singular rarely occurs except with sibilants: *Galen his*, *Regio-Montanus his*, p. 19; *Phalaris his*, p. 77; *Actius his*, p. 90; *Atlas his*, p. 106. This use of *his* was most common from 1400 to 1750. From 1500 it was

chiefly employed for proper names ending in a sibilant or to avoid an awkward inflectional genitive. In the genitive plural we have the modern form; as *Countrymen's*, p. 83; but also *Mens*, p. 86; and *Lyons*, p. 47.

The plural number of certain foreign words has *-'s* in all cases; as *Ænigma's*, p. 11; *Idea's*, p. 16. "In Early MnE," says Sweet (*New English Grammar*, I. 321), "the apostrophe was at first intended only to show contraction of *-es*, and was accordingly used freely in the plural as well as the genitive inflection, the spelling *bird's* being, of course, used for the gen. plur. as well as the gen. sing." Examples of plural unchanged in form from singular are *Diogenes*, p. 8; *Colossus*, p. 19; *corps*, p. 108.

A use of the indefinite article different from present-day practice is seen in *an union*, p. 5; *an universal*, p. 44; *an unity*, p. 106. So also before *h* sounded—a usage common in the seventeenth century, and often found after 1700. Examples are: *an Heresie, an History*, p. 9; *an humorous*, p. 98; *an harmony*, p. 102. But we find also *a heresie*, p. 42; *a harmony, a handsome*, p. 102; *a History*, p. 106.

In certain adjectives comparison by *-er* and *-est* is employed where we put *more* and *most*; e.g. *opener*, p. 6; *difficultest*, p. 11; *mannerliest*, p. 40; *powerfullest*, p. 71.

In the seventeenth century, the ending of 3rd sing. present indicative gradually changed from *-eth* to *-s*. Both forms occur here, *-s* being the more frequent. When we find *ceaseth*, p. 69; *useth*, p. 74; but *grows, beholds*, p. 68; we might be inclined to say that the desire to avoid the multiplying of hissing sounds explains the employment of *-eth*. But that does not explain *pieces*, p. 26; *subsists*, p. 47; *casts*, p. 63; and *affordeth*, p. 46; *affirmeth*, p. 75. An examination of Browne's practice, and particularly such passages as "he knows all things; and he knoweth all things," p. 16; "that fulfils and accomplisheth them," p. 60; "it consorts and sympathizeth," p. 83, seems to indicate that the predominant cause of choosing one form instead of the other was, on the whole, the desire for

melodious rhythm, including the avoidance of monotony and of too many sibilants. Several verbs stand apart. *Makes* and *seems* are the prevailing forms; while, like other seventeenth-century writers, Browne invariably uses *hath* and *doth*.

In the seventeenth century the habit spread of dropping, where possible, the pronunciation of the unaccented vowel of *-ed*. The syllable was, of course, heard in full in words like *disputed*, p. 9; *illustrated*, p. 11; *brooded*, p. 45. The shortened pronunciation is evident from spellings such as *cancell'd*, p. 8; *untouch'd*, p.10; *unhing'd*, p. 11; *liv'd*, *knockt*, p. 33; *fetch'd*, p. 37; *worm'd*, p. 42; *defin'd*, p. 46; *pickt*, p. 51; *mention'd*, p. 70; *calcin'd*, *burnt*, p. 71; *lapt*, p. 81; *mark'd*, p. 96. There are, however, hundreds more where it is an open question what Browne's pronunciation was. Such are *perished*, p. 33; *learned*, p. 43; *hatched*, p. 45; *delivered*, *observed*, p. 56.

After comparatives the conjunction has the form *then* (p. 13, "elder then our selves"; p. 56, and elsewhere) as well as *than*. The modern conjunction *than* and the modern adverb of time *then*, originally the same word, were both spelt in Middle English with *a* and with *e*. "When," says *O.E.D.*, "the adv. was reduced to *þen*, from the 15th c. spelt *then*, there was a strong tendency to spell the conjunction in the same way, which during the 16th c. nearly triumphed; but in the 17th c. the tide turned, and by 1700 or a little later the conjunction was differentiated from the adv. as *than*."

The subjunctive mood occurs in concessive clauses stating facts, e.g. "though there be several Circumstances," p. 1; "though he seem to have corrected," p. 108. On the same page we find, "though indeed the Organs are destitute." Note also the subjunctive in clauses of future time; e.g. "it will flourish till it be condemned again," p. 8. Here also we see the indicative creeping in; e.g. p. 18:

> "Till death abrupts them, and succeeding Glory
> Bid me go on in a more lasting story."

So too subjunctive and indicative both occur in noun

clauses: "I stand not yet assured which is the right side of a man; or whether there be any such distinction in Nature," p. 31; "for my own part, I think there be too many in the World," p. 35.

We frequently find a singular verb with a plural subject in constructions like "there is yet...many things," p. 10. So also on pp. 15, 72, 90. The rationale of this usage—common in the seventeenth century and before—has been stated thus: "When the verb coming second in the sentence is preceded by *here, there, where, what, it* and such like words, the verb may be singular even though the subject following is plural." Various explanations have been suggested: (1) The subject not having come into view, the singular is put as a general form; (2) This is the *s*-plural of verbs as in the Northern dialect of English; (3) The singular is usurping the place of the plural. See Abbot, *Shakespearian Grammar*; Kellner, *Historical Syntax*; Tolman, *Questions on Shakespeare*; Wyld, *Modern Colloquial English*. Other examples in *Religio Medici* of singular predicates with plural subjects are on pp. 11, 13, 20, 24, 57, 59, 98. In some of these the two subjects are regarded as expressing one idea: in some the verb agrees with the nearest subject.

Other old usages—besides those discussed in the notes—are double comparison, "most abjectest," p. 98; double negatives, "nor cannot tell," p. 52; possessive pronoun as antecedent to relative, "for his sake who must reward us," p. 66; *do, did* (very numerous in *Religio Medici*) as tense auxiliaries, "which aptly joyned together do make one word that doth express their natures," p. 86.

Writers possessing a copious vocabulary often couple synonyms or employ "a duplicate phraseology." The Book of Common Prayer contains many examples: "changes and alterations"; "dissemble and cloke"; "image and similitude." Browne has numerous instances of duplicating; as "subdivide and mince," p. 10; "Scales and Roundles," p. 15; "sundry and divided," p. 18; "match and parallel," p. 20; "ladder and scale," p. 42;

"ubiquitary, and omnipresent," p. 49; "fulfil and accomplish the Will and Command," p. 85; "Enigma's, mysteries and riddles," p. 95.

In *Religio Medici* we often find the abstract name put for the concrete, which emphasises the quality denoted. See "the wiser Zeals," p. 4; "Reasons," p. 15; "judgements," p. 25; "Devotions," p. 37; "discretions," p. 77; "affections," p. 94.

Finally, Browne not unfrequently indulges in jingling repetition, which may at times approach paronomasia. Examples are "discovery...discovery," p. 44; "remove... remove," p. 82; "conceit...conceits...conceits," p. 107.

IV. BROWNE'S HUMOUR

Do Browne's writings show that he possessed the quality of humour? Edmund Gosse says no, and urges that quaint language and willingness to provoke a smile by wit have been mistaken for humour. George Saintsbury finds humour, and declares that such as do not are themselves humour-blind. Leslie Stephen asserts that Browne is full of humour—of the quiet type. Therefore "the numerous class which insists upon a joke being as unequivocal as a pistol-shot...should certainly keep clear of Sir Thomas Browne."

There is humour in the opening words of *Religio Medici*. We can imagine Browne, as he pens the words "Religio Medici," remembering the slander aimed at doctors in the proverb, "Where there are three doctors, there are two atheists," and saying to himself that readers of the heading will remark: "A doctor's religion! Why that's like snakes in Iceland." Accordingly he begins: "For my Religion, though there be several Circumstances that might perswade the World I have none at all, as the general scandal of my Profession...." Humorous too is the conclusion of section 24, p. 35; "break their own pates to salve that of Priscian," p. 90; and the following from "To the Reader" (*Vulgar Errors*):

"Our first intentions considering the common interest of Truth, resolved to propose it unto the Latine republique and equal Judges of Europe, but owing in the first place this service unto our Country, and therein especially unto its ingenuous Gentry, we have declared our self in a language best conceived. Although I confess the quality of the Subject will sometimes carry us into expressions beyond meer English apprehensions. And indeed, if elegancy still proceedeth, and English Pens maintain that stream, we have of late observed to flow from many; we shall within few years be fain to learn Latine to understand English, and a work will prove of equal facility in either."

V. BROWNE'S LATINISMS

The quotation which concludes the previous section has been by some authorities interpreted seriously and taken as evidence in the charge against Browne of corrupting English by excessive latinising. He certainly does employ many words of Classical origin; but it is hard to see why he should be specially pilloried when many of his contemporaries do the same. And not only they. For we must remember that from the earliest times English has borrowed from Latin, and that to this borrowing English owes much of its wealth of synonyms and, in many instances, its sonorous melody. We do well also to recall Dryden's defence (*Dedication of the Æneis*) when he was accused of latinising too much.

"When I find an English word significant and sounding, I neither borrow from the Latin, nor any other language; but when I want at home, I must seek abroad... We have enough in England to supply our necessity; but if we will have things of magnificence and splendour, we must get them by commerce. Poetry requires ornament; and that is not to be had from our old Teuton monosyllables: therefore, if I find any elegant word in a classic author, I propose it to be naturalized by using it myself; and if the public approves of it, the bill passes."

When, as in *Vulgar Errors*, Browne required new expressions for new ideas, he borrowed or coined such words as *lapidifical*, *conglaciation*, *congelation*, *colliquate*, *super-*

natation, *effluency*, *guttulous*, *stillicidious*, *septentrionate*, *australise*, *syndrome*, while elsewhere in his works are found *discruciating*, *quodlibetically*, *salvifically*, *sollicitudinous*, *improperations*, and so on. The words look worst in a list, but they are bad enough in their context, as in *Vulgar Errors*, II. I:

"That which is concreted by exsiccation or expression of humidity, will be resolved by humectation, as Earth, Dirt, and Clay; that which is coagulated by a fiery siccity, will suffer colliquation from an aqueous humidity, as Salt and Sugar...."

An examination of other seventeenth-century writers discloses such words as *deturpated*, *digladiation*, *clancularly*, *immorigerous*, *intenerate*, *vadimonial*. The notes to *Religio Medici* show that many of the censured words are also found in Browne's contemporaries. They as well as he failed in numerous instances to secure for their coinages the approval of the public. The age was an age of experiment. During the whole of Browne's lifetime a sifting of the literary vocabulary was in progress, which resulted in the disappearance of a large number of words, chiefly those derived from Latin in the sixteenth century and the seventeenth.

Browne, however, employed words of Latin origin not merely to express new ideas but also, as Saintsbury puts it, for their pomp and pageantry or for their sonorous qualities; e.g. "the Sun, Moon, and Stars, in their Clarity and proper Courses"; or "to behold this Exantlation of Truth." Even Gosse does not disapprove of "the hill and asperous way, which leadeth unto the House of Sanity." If Browne is blameworthy, why does Shakespeare escape for the famous passage:

> "No; this my hand will rather
> The multitudinous seas incarnadine?"

Incarnadine is a Shakespearean coinage which has not come into general use.

Again, Browne is charged with employing words, not

in their usual sense in English, but in a Latin sense; as when he gives *produce* (p. 60) the meaning of prolong, and *votes* (p. 96) the meaning of wishes. But Shakespeare's "extravagant and erring spirit" cannot be interpreted properly except by those acquainted with Latin. What of Jeremy Taylor's *insolent* = unusual, and *extant* = standing out in relief? It must be admitted, however, that Browne in his use of words was often a law to himself. See notes to *aspires*, p. 45; and *traverse*, p. 75.

A final censure is his injuring of English idiom by the use of Latin constructions. A very striking instance is "not understanding only...but forgetting," p. 112, where, imitating a Latin idiom, Browne employs *not only* to do the work of *not only not*. To puzzled editors this has appeared careless and requiring the insertion of *not*. In the use of Latin constructions, Browne is less blameworthy than Taylor or Milton. A. W. Ward speaks of "the fact (which I suppose will hardly be disputed) that the Latinism of Milton's style was more marked than that of any other great writer's of this period."

It is indeed a mistake to think that Browne cannot write without a vocabulary of uncouth Latin words. He can be blunt and colloquial: see "hack and slash," p. 90. His familiar letters to his sons are models of the plain conversational style. His letters to his learned correspondents are naturally in a more elevated key. His other writings show many passages of straightforward idiomatic English; as, in *Religio Medici*, the last sentence of section 36, p. 52; section 47, pp. 65 *sq*. Again, when he rises higher, bursting into mighty organ tones, as in the concluding chapter of *Hydriotaphia*, there is no excessive Latinism; and where swelling Latin words do appear, they find appropriate place.

It is unfair, as some critics do, to judge Browne simply by the highly latinised style of *Christian Morals*, which never received his final revision; and we know that he revised and re-revised.

RELIGIO MEDICI

[THE FIRST PART]

1. For my Religion, though there be several Circumstances that might perswade the World I have none at all, as the general scandal of my Profession, the natural course of my Studies, the indifferency of my Behaviour and Discourse in matters of Religion, neither violently Defending one, nor with that common ardour and contention Opposing another; yet in despight hereof, I dare, without usurpation, assume the honourable Stile of a Christian. Not that I meerly owe this Title to the Font, my Education, or Clime wherein I was born, as being bred up either to confirm those Principles my Parents instilled into my Understanding, or by a general consent proceed in the Religion of my Country: But having in my riper years and confirmed Judgment, seen and examined all, I find my self obliged by the Principles of Grace, and the Law of mine own Reason, to embrace no other Name but this: Neither doth herein my zeal so far make me forget the general Charity I owe unto Humanity, as rather to hate than pity *Turks*, *Infidels*, and (what is worse) *Jews*; rather contenting my self to enjoy that happy Stile, than maligning those who refuse so glorious a Title.

2. But because the Name of a Christian is become too general to express our Faith, there being a Geography of Religions as well as Lands, and every Clime distinguished not only by their Laws and Limits, but circumscribed by their Doctrines and Rules of Faith; to be particular, I am of that Reformed new-cast Religion, wherein I dislike nothing but the Name; of the same belief our Saviour taught, the Apostles disseminated, the Fathers authorized, and the Martyrs confirmed, but by the sinister ends of Princes, the ambition and avarice of Prelates, and the fatal corruption of times, so decayed, impaired, and fallen from its native Beauty, that it required the careful and charitable hands of these times to restore it to its primitive Integrity. Now the accidental occasion whereupon, the slender means whereby, the low and abject condition of the Person by whom so good a work was set on foot, which in our Adversaries beget contempt and scorn, fills me with wonder, and is the very same Objection the insolent Pagans first cast at Christ and his Disciples.

3. Yet have I not so shaken hands with those desperate Resolutions, who had rather venture at large their decayed bottom, than bring her in to be new trimm'd in the Dock; who had rather promiscuously retain all, than abridge any, and obstinately be what they are, than what they have been, as to stand in Diameter and Swords point with them: We have reformed from them, not against them; for omitting those Improperations, and Terms of Scurrility betwixt

us, which only difference our Affections, and not our Cause, there is between us one common Name and Appellation, one Faith and necessary body of Principles common to us both; and therefore I am not scrupulous to converse and live with them, to enter their Churches in defect of ours, and either pray with them, or for them: I could never perceive any rational Consequence from those many Texts which prohibit the Children of *Israel* to pollute themselves with the Temples of the Heathens; we being all Christians, and not divided by such detested impieties as might prophane our Prayers, or the place wherein we make them; or that a resolved Conscience may not adore her Creator any where, especially in places devoted to his Service; where if their Devotions offend him, mine may please him; if theirs prophane it, mine may hallow it: Holy-water and Crucifix (dangerous to the common people) deceive not my judgment, nor abuse my devotion at all: I am, I confess, naturally inclined to that, which misguided Zeal terms Superstition: my common conversation I do acknowledge austere, my behaviour full of rigour, sometimes not without morosity; yet at my Devotion I love to use the civility of my knee, my hat, and hand, with all those outward and sensible motions which may express or promote my invisible Devotion. I should violate my own arm rather than a Church, nor willingly deface the name of Saint or Martyr. At the sight of a Cross or Crucifix I can dispense with my hat, but scarce with he thought or memory of my Saviour: I cannot laugh at, but rather pity the fruitless journeys of Pilgrims or

contemn the miserable condition of Fryars; for though misplaced in Circumstances, there is something in it of Devotion. I could never hear the *Ave-Mary* Bell without an elevation, or think it a sufficient warrant, because they erred in one circumstance, for me to err in all, that is, in silence and dumb contempt; whilst therefore they directed their Devotions to Her, I offered mine to God, and rectifie the Errors of their Prayers, by rightly ordering mine own: At a solemn Procession I have wept abundantly, while my consorts blind with opposition and prejudice; have fallen into an excess of scorn and laughter: There are question-less both in *Greek*, *Roman*, and *African* Churches, Solemnities and Ceremonies, whereof the wiser Zeals do make a Christian use, and stand condemned by us, not as evil in themselves, but as allurements and baits of superstition to those vulgar heads that look asquint on the face of Truth, and those unstable Judgments that cannot consist in the narrow point and centre of Virtue without a reel or stagger to the Circumference.

4. As there were many Reformers, so likewise many Reformations; every Country proceeding in a particular way and method, according as their national Interest, together with their Constitution and Clime inclined them; some angrily, and with extremity; others calmly, and with mediocrity, not rending but easily dividing the community, and leaving an honest possibility of a reconciliation; which though peaceable Spirits do desire, and may conceive that revolution of time and the mercies of God may effect, yet that

judgment that shall consider the present antipathies between the two extreams, their contrarieties in condition, affection and opinion, may with the same hopes expect an union in the Poles of Heaven.

5. But to difference my self nearer, and draw into a lesser Circle: There is no Church, whose every part so squares unto my Conscience; whose Articles, Constitutions, and Customs, seem so consonant unto reason, and as it were framed to my particular Devotion, as this whereof I hold my Belief, the Church of *England*, to whose Faith I am a sworn Subject; and therefore in a double Obligation subscribe unto her Articles, and endeavour to observe her Constitutions; whatsoever is beyond, as points indifferent, I observe according to the rules of my private reason, or the humour and fashion of my Devotion; neither believing this, because *Luther* affirmed it, or disproving that, because *Calvin* hath disavouched it. I condemn not all things in the Council of *Trent*, nor approve all in the Synod of *Dort*. In brief, where the Scripture is silent, the Church is my Text; where that speaks, 'tis but my Comment: where there is a joynt silence of both, I borrow not the rules of my Religion from *Rome* or *Geneva*, but the dictates of my own reason. It is an unjust scandal of our adversaries, and a gross errour in our selves, to compute the Nativity of our Religion from *Henry* the Eighth, who though he rejected the Pope, refus'd not the faith of *Rome*, and effected no more than what his own Predecessors desired and assayed in Ages past, and was conceived the State of *Venice* would have

attempted in our days. It is as uncharitable a point in us to fall upon those popular scurrilities and opprobrious scoffs of the Bishop of *Rome*, to whom as a temporal Prince, we owe the duty of good language: I confess there is cause of passion between us; by his sentence I stand excommunicated, Heretick is the best language he affords me; yet can no ear witness I ever returned him the name of Antichrist, Man of sin, or Whore of *Babylon*. It is the method of Charity to suffer without reaction: Those usual Satyrs and invectives of the Pulpit may perchance produce a good effect on the vulgar, whose ears are opener to Rhetorick than Logick; yet do they in no wise confirm the faith of wiser Believers, who know that a good cause needs not to be patron'd by passion, but can sustain it self upon a temperate dispute.

6. I could never divide my self from any man upon the difference of an opinion, or be angry with his judgment for not agreeing with me in that, from which within a few days I should dissent my self. I have no Genius to disputes in Religion, and have often thought it wisdom to decline them, especially upon a disadvantage, or when the cause of truth might suffer in the weakness of my patronage: Where we desire to be informed, 'tis good to contest with men above our selves; but to confirm and establish our opinions, 'tis best to argue with judgments below our own, that the frequent spoils and Victories over their reasons, may settle in our selves an esteem and confirmed Opinion of our own. Every man is not a proper Champion for

Truth, nor fit to take up the Gauntlet in the cause of Verity: Many from the ignorance of these Maximes, and an inconsiderate Zeal unto Truth, have too rashly charged the Troops of Error, and remain as Trophies unto the enemies of Truth: A man may be in as just possession of Truth as of a City, and yet be forced to surrender; 'tis therefore far better to enjoy her with peace, than to hazzard her on a battle: if therefore there rise any doubts in my way, I do forget them, or at least defer them, till my better setled judgement, and more manly reason be able to resolve them, for I perceive every mans own reason is his best *Oedipus*, and will upon a reasonable truce, find a way to loose those bonds wherewith the subtleties of error have enchained our more flexible and tender judgements. In Philosophy, where Truth seems double-fac'd, there is no man more Paradoxical than my self; but in Divinity I love to keep the Road; and though not in an implicite, yet an humble faith, follow the great wheel of the Church, by which I move, not reserving any proper Poles or motion from the Epicycle of my own brain; by this means I leave no gap for Heresie, Schismes, or Errors, of which at present I hope I shall not injure Truth to say I have no taint or tincture: I must confess my greener studies have been polluted with two or three, not any begotten in the latter Centuries, but old and obsolete, such as could never have been revived, but by such extravagant and irregular heads as mine; for indeed Heresies perish not with their Authors, but like the river *Arethusa*, though they lose their currents in one place, they rise up again in

another: One general Council is not able to extirpate one single Heresie; it may be cancell'd for the present, but revolution of time, and the like aspects from Heaven, will restore it, when it will flourish till it be condemned again. For as though there were *Metempsuchosis*, and the soul of one man passed into another; Opinions do find after certain Revolutions, men and minds like those that first begat them. To see our selves again, we need not look for *Plato's* year: every man is not only himself; there hath been many *Diogenes*, and as many *Timons*, though but few of that name; men are liv'd over again, the world is now as it was in Ages past; there was none then, but there hath been some one since that Parallels him, and as it were his revived self.

7. Now the first of mine was that of the *Arabians*, That the Souls of men perished with their Bodies, but should yet be raised again at the last day: not that I did absolutely conceive a mortality of the Soul; but if that were, which Faith, not Philosophy hath yet throughly disproved, and that both entred the grave together, yet I held the same conceit thereof that we all do of the body, that it should rise again. Surely it is but the merits of our unworthy Natures, if we sleep in darkness until the last Alarm. A serious reflex upon my own unworthiness did make me backward from challenging this prerogative of my Soul; so that I might enjoy my Saviour at the last, I could with patience be nothing almost unto Eternity. The second was that of *Origen*, That God would not persist in his

vengeance for ever, but after a definite time of his wrath, he would release the damned Souls from torture: which error I fell into upon a serious contemplation of the great Attribute of God, his Mercy; and did a little cherish it in my self, because I found therein no malice, and a ready weight to sway me from the other extream of despair, whereunto Melancholy and Contemplative Natures are too easily disposed. A third there is which I did never positively maintain or practise, but have often wished it had been consonant to Truth, and not offensive to my Religion, and that is the Prayer for the dead; whereunto I was inclin'd from some charitable inducements, whereby I could scarce contain my Prayers for a friend at the ringing of a Bell, or behold his Corps without an Orison for his Soul: 'Twas a good way methought to be remembred by posterity, and far more noble than an History. These opinions I never maintained with pertinacy, or endeavoured to enveagle any mans belief unto mine, nor so much as ever revealed or disputed them with my dearest friends; by which means I neither propagated them in others, nor confirmed them in my self; but suffering them to flame upon their own substance, without addition of new fuel, they went out insensibly of themselves: therefore these Opinions, though condemned by lawful Councels, were not Heresies in me, but bare Errors, and single Lapses of my understanding without a joynt depravity of my will: Those have not onely depraved understandings, but diseased affections, which cannot enjoy a singularity without an Heresie, or be the Author of an Opinion without they

be of a Sect also; this was the Villany of the first Schism of *Lucifer*, who was not content to err alone, but drew into his Faction many Legions, and upon this experience he tempted only *Eve*, as well understanding the Communicable nature of Sin, and that to deceive but one, was tacitely and upon consequence to delude them both.

8. That Heresies should arise, we have the Prophesie of Christ; but that old ones should be abolished, we hold no prediction. That there must be Heresies, is true, not only in our Church, but also in any other: even in the doctrines heretical, there will be super-heresies; and Arians not only divided from their Church, but also among themselves: for heads that are disposed unto Schism and complexionably propense to innovation, are naturally indisposed for a community; nor will be ever confined unto the order or œconomy of one body; and therefore when they separate from others, they knit but loosely among themselves, nor contented with a general breach or dichotomy with their Church, do subdivide and mince themselves almost into Atoms. 'Tis true, that men of singular parts and humours have not been free from singular opinions and conceits in all Ages; retaining something not only beside the opinion of his own Church or any other, but also any particular Author; which notwithstanding a sober Judgment may do without offence or heresie; for there is yet, after all the Decrees of Councils, and the niceties of Schools, many things untouch'd, unimagin'd, wherein the liberty of an honest reason may play

and expatiate with security, and far without the circle of an Heresie.

9. As for those wingy Mysteries in Divinity, and airy subtleties in Religion, which have unhing'd the brains of better heads, they never stretched the *Pia Mater* of mine; methinks there be not impossibilities enough in Religion for an active faith; the deepest Mysteries ours contains have not only been illustrated, but maintained by Syllogism, and the rule of Reason: I love to lose my self in a mystery, to pursue my Reason to an *O altitudo*! 'Tis my solitary recreation to pose my apprehension with those involved Ænigma's and riddles of the Trinity, with Incarnation and Resurrection. I can answer all the Objections of Satan and my rebellious reason, with that odd resolution I learned of *Tertullian*, *Certum est quia impossibile est*. I desire to exercise my faith in the difficultest point; for to credit ordinary and visible objects, is not faith, but perswasion. Some believe the better for seeing Christ's Sepulchre; and when they have seen the Red Sea, doubt not of the Miracle. Now contrarily, I bless my self, and am thankful that I lived not in the days of Miracles, that I never saw Christ nor his Disciples; I would not have been one of those *Israelites* that pass'd the Red Sea, nor one of Christ's patients on whom he wrought his wonders; then had my faith been thrust upon me; nor should I enjoy that greater blessing pronounced to all that believe and saw not. 'Tis an easie and necessary belief, to credit what our eye and sense hath examined: I believe he was dead

and buried, and rose again; and desire to see him in his glory, rather than to contemplate him in his Cenotaphe, or Sepulchre. Nor is this much to believe; as we have reason, we owe this faith unto History: they only had the advantage of a bold and noble Faith, who lived before his coming, who upon obscure prophesies and mystical Types could raise a belief, and expect apparent impossibilities.

10. 'Tis true, there is an edge in all firm belief, and with an easie Metaphor we may say the Sword of Faith; but in these obscurities I rather use it in the adjunct the Apostle gives it, a Buckler; under which I conceive a wary combatant may lye invulnerable. Since I was of understanding to know we knew nothing, my reason hath been more pliable to the will of Faith; I am now content to understand a mystery without a rigid definition, in an easie and Platonick description. That allegorical description of *Hermes*, pleaseth me beyond all the Metaphysical definitions of Divines; where I cannot satisfie my reason, I love to humour my fancy: I had as live you tell me that *anima est angelus hominis, est Corpus Dei*, as *Entelechia; Lux est umbra Dei*, as *actus perspicui*; where there is an obscurity too deep for our Reason, 'tis good to sit down with a description, periphrasis, or adumbration; for by acquainting our reason how unable it is to display the visible and obvious effects of nature, it becomes more humble and submissive unto the subtleties of Faith; and thus I teach my haggard and unreclaimed reason to stoop unto the lure of Faith. I believe there

was already a tree whose fruit our unhappy Parents tasted, though in the same Chapter when God forbids it, 'tis positively said, the plants of the field were not yet grown; for God had not caus'd it to rain upon the earth. I believe that the Serpent (if we shall literally understand it) from his proper form and figure made his motion on his belly before the curse. I find the tryal of the Pucellage and virginity of Women, which God ordained the *Jews*, is very fallible. Experience and History informs me, that not onely many particular Women, but likewise whole Nations have escaped the curse of Childbirth, which God seems to pronounce upon the whole Sex; yet do I believe that all this is true, which indeed my Reason would perswade me to be false; and this I think is no vulgar part of Faith, to believe a thing not only above, but contrary to Reason, and against the Arguments of our proper Senses.

11. In my solitary and retired imagination, (*Neque enim cum porticus, aut me lectulus accepit, desum mihi*) I remember I am not alone, and therefore forget not to contemplate him and his Attributes who is ever with me, especially those two mighty ones, his Wisdom and Eternity: with the one I recreate, with the other I confound my understanding: for who can speak of Eternity without a solœcism, or think thereof without an Extasie? Time we may comprehend: 'tis but five days elder then our selves, and hath the same Horoscope with the World; but to retire so far back as to apprehend a beginning, to give such an infinite start

forwards as to conceive an end in an essence that we affirm hath neither the one nor the other, it puts my Reason to St. *Paul's* Sanctuary: my Philosophy dares not say the Angels can do it; God hath not made a Creature that can comprehend him; 'tis a privilege of his own nature: *I am that I am*, was his own definition unto *Moses*; and 'twas a short one, to confound mortality, that durst question God, or ask him what he was; indeed he onely is; all others have and shall be: but in Eternity there is no distinction of Tenses; and therefore that terrible term *Predestination*, which hath troubled so many weak heads to conceive, and the wisest to explain, is in respect to God no prescious determination of our Estates to come, but a definitive blast of his Will already fulfilled, and at the instant that he first decreed it; for to his Eternity which is indivisible and all together, the last Trump is already sounded, the reprobates in the flame, and the blessed in *Abraham's* bosome. St. *Peter* speaks modestly, when he saith, a thousand years to God are but as one day: for to speak like a Philosopher, those continued instances of time which flow into a thousand years, make not to him one moment; what to us is to come, to his Eternity is present, his whole duration being but one permanent point, without Succession, Parts, Flux, or Division.

12. There is no Attribute that adds more difficulty to the mystery of the Trinity, where, though in a relative way of Father and Son, we must deny a priority. I wonder how *Aristotle* could conceive the

World eternal, or how he could make good two Eternities: his similitude of a Triangle, comprehended in a square, doth somewhat illustrate the Trinity of our Souls, and that the Triple Unity of God; for there is in us not three, but a Trinity of Souls, because there is in us, if not three distinct Souls, yet differing faculties, that can, and do subsist apart in different Subjects, and yet in us are thus united as to make but one Soul and substance: if one Soul were so perfect as to inform three distinct Bodies, that were a petty Trinity: conceive, the distinct number of three, not divided nor separated by the Intellect, but actually comprehended in its Unity, and that is a perfect Trinity. I have often admired the mystical way of *Pythagoras*, and the secret Magick of numbers. Beware of Philosophy, is a precept not to be received in too large a sense; for in this Mass of Nature there is a set of things that carry in their Front, though not in Capital Letters, yet in Stenography, and short Characters, something of Divinity, which to wiser Reasons serve as Luminaries in the Abyss of Knowledge, and to judicious beliefs as Scales and Roundles to mount the Pinacles and highest pieces of Divinity. The severe Schools shall never laugh me out of the Philosophy of *Hermes*, that this visible World is but a Picture of the invisible, wherein as in a Pourtraict, things are not truely, but in equivocal shapes, and as they counterfeit some real substance in that invisible Fabrick.

13. That other Attribute wherewith I recreate my

devotion, is his Wisdom, in which I am happy; and for the contemplation of this only, do not repent me that I was bred in the way of Study: The advantage I have of the vulgar, with the content and happiness I conceive therein, is an ample recompence for all my endeavours, in what part of knowledge soever. Wisdom is his most beauteous Attribute, no man can attain unto it, yet *Solomon* pleased God when he desired it. He is wise, because he knows all things; and he knoweth all things, because he made them all: but his greatest knowledge is in comprehending that he made not, that is, himself. And this is also the greatest knowledge in man. For this do I honour my own profession, and embrace the Counsel even of the Devil himself: had he read such a Lecture in Paradise, as he did at *Delphos*, we had better known our selves; nor had we stood in fear to know him. I know he is wise in all, wonderful in what we conceive, but far more in what we comprehend not; for we behold him but asquint, upon reflex or shadow; our understanding is dimmer than *Moses* Eye; we are ignorant of the back-parts or lower side of his Divinity; therefore to prie into the maze of his Counsels, is not only folly in man, but presumption even in Angels; like us, they are his Servants, not his Senators; he holds no Counsel, but that mystical one of the Trinity, wherein though there be three Persons, there is but one mind that decrees without Contradiction: nor needs he any; his actions are not begot with deliberation, his Wisdom naturally knows what's best; his intellect stands ready fraught with the Superlative and purest *Idea's*

of goodness; consultation and election, which are two motions in us, make but one in him; his actions springing from his power, at the first touch of his will. These are Contemplations Metaphysical: my humble speculations have another Method, and are content to trace and discover those expressions he hath left in his Creatures, and the obvious effects of Nature; there is no danger to profound these mysteries, no *sanctum sanctorum* in Philosophy: the World was made to be inhabited by Beasts; but studied and contemplated by Man: 'tis the Debt of our Reason we owe unto God, and the homage we pay for not being Beasts; without this, the World is still as though it had not been, or as it was before the sixth day, when as yet there was not a Creature that could conceive, or say there was a World. The wisdom of God receives small honour from those vulgar Heads that rudely stare about, and with a gross rusticity admire his works; those highly magnifie him, whose judicious inquiry into his Acts, and deliberate research into his Creatures, return the duty of a devout and learned admiration. Therefore,

Search while thou wilt, and let thy reason go
To ransome truth even to th' Abyss below;
Rally the scattered Causes; and that line
Which Nature twists, be able to untwine:
It is thy Makers will, for unto none,
But unto reason can he e'er be known.
The Devils do know thee, but those damn'd Meteors
Build not thy Glory, but confound thy Creatures.
Teach my indeavours so thy works to read,
That learning them in thee, I may proceed.
Give thou my reason that instructive flight,
Whose weary wings may on thy hands still light.

Teach me so to soar aloft, yet ever so,
When near the Sun, to stoop again below.
Thus shall my humble Feathers safely hover,
And, though neer Earth, more than the Heavens discover.
And then at last, when homeward I shall drive
Rich with the Spoils of nature to my Hive,
There will I sit like that industrious Flie,
Buzzing thy praises, which shall never die,
Till death abrupts them, and succeeding Glory
Bid me go on in a more lasting story.

And this is almost all wherein an humble Creature may endeavour to requite, and some way to retribute unto his Creator: for if not he that saith, *Lord, Lord,* but *he that doth the will of his Father, shall be saved*; certainly our wills must be our performances, and our intents make out our Actions; otherwise our pious labours shall find anxiety in our Graves, and our best endeavours not hope, but fear a resurrection.

14. There is but one first cause, and four second causes of all things; some are without efficient, as God; others without matter, as Angels; some without form, as the first matter: but every Essence created or uncreated, hath its final cause, and some positive end both of its Essence and Operation; this is the cause I grope after in the works of Nature; on this hangs the providence of God: to raise so beauteous a structure, as the World and the Creatures thereof, was but his Art; but their sundry and divided operations, with their predestinated ends, are from the Treasure of his wisdom. In the causes, nature and affections of the Eclipses of the Sun and Moon, there is most excellent speculation; but to profound farther, and to

contemplate a reason why his providence hath so disposed and ordered their motions in that vast circle, as to conjoyn and obscure each other, is a sweeter piece of Reason, and a diviner point of Philosophy; therefore sometimes, and in some things, there appears to me as much Divinity in *Galen* his Books *De usu partium*, as in *Suarez* Metaphysicks: Had *Aristotle* been as curious in the enquiry of this cause as he was of the other, he had not left behind him an imperfect piece of Philosophy, but an absolute tract of Divinity.

15. *Natura nihil agit frustra*, is the only indisputed Axiome in Philosophy; there are no *Grotesques* in nature; not any thing framed to fill up empty Cantons, and unnecessary spaces: in the most imperfect Creatures, and such as were not preserved in the Ark, but having their Seeds and Principles in the womb of Nature, are every where, where the power of the Sun is; in these is the Wisdom of his hand discovered. Out of this rank *Solomon* chose the object of admiration; indeed what reason may not go to School to the wisdom of Bees, Ants, and Spiders? what wise hand teacheth them to do what reason cannot teach us? ruder heads stand amazed at those prodigious pieces of Nature, Whales, Elephants, Dromidaries and Camels; these, I confess, are the Colossus and Majestick pieces of her hand: but in these narrow Engines there is more curious Mathematicks; and the civility of these little Citizens, more neatly sets forth the Wisdom of their Maker. Who admires not *Regio-Montanus* his Fly beyond his Eagle, or wonders not more at the operation

of two Souls in those little Bodies, than but one in the Trunk of a Cedar? I could never content my contemplation with those general pieces of wonder, the Flux and Reflux of the Sea, the increase of *Nile*, the conversion of the Needle to the North; and have studied to match and parallel those in the more obvious and neglected pieces of Nature, which without further travel I can do in the Cosmography of my self; we carry with us the wonders we seek without us: There is all *Africa* and her prodigies in us; we are that bold and adventurous piece of nature, which he that studies wisely learns in a *compendium*, what others labour at in a divided piece and endless volume.

16. Thus there are two Books from whence I collect my Divinity; besides that written one of God, another of his servant Nature, that universal and publick Manuscript, that lies expans'd unto the Eyes of all, those that never saw him in the one, have discovered him in the other: this was the Scripture and Theology of the Heathens; the natural motion of the Sun made them more admire him, than its supernatural station did the Children of *Israel*; the ordinary effects of nature wrought more admiration in them, than in the other all his Miracles; surely the Heathens knew better how to joyn and read these mystical Letters, than we Christians, who cast a more careless Eye on these common Hieroglyphicks, and disdain to suck Divinity from the flowers of Nature. Nor do I so forget God as to adore the name of Nature; which I define not with the Schools, to be the principle of motion and rest,

but that streight and regular line, that settled and constant course the wisdom of God hath ordained the actions of his creatures, according to their several kinds. To make a revolution every day, is the Nature of the Sun, because of that necessary course which God hath ordained it, from which it cannot swerve, but by a faculty from that voice which first did give it motion. Now this course of Nature God seldome alters or perverts, but like an excellent Artist hath so contrived his work, that with the self same instrument, without a new creation, he may effect his obscurest designs. Thus he sweetneth the Water with a Word, preserveth the Creatures in the Ark, which the blast of his mouth might have as easily created; for God is like a skilful Geometrician, who when more easily, and with one stroak of his Compass he might describe or divide a right line, had yet rather do this in a circle or longer way; according to the constituted and fore-laid principles of his Art: yet this rule of his he doth sometimes pervert, to acquaint the World with his Prerogative, lest the arrogancy of our reason should question his power, and conclude he could not: and thus I call the effects of Nature the works of God, whose hand and instrument she only is; and therefore to ascribe his actions unto her, is to devolve the honour of the principal agent, upon the instrument; which if with reason we may do, then let our hammers rise up and boast they have built our houses, and our pens receive the honour of our writing. I hold there is a general beauty in the works of God, and therefore no deformity in any kind of species of creature whatso-

ever: I cannot tell by what Logick we call a *Toad*, a *Bear*, or an *Elephant* ugly, they being created in those outward shapes and figures which best express those actions of their inward forms. And having past that general Visitation of God, who saw that all that he had made was good, that is, conformable to his Will, which abhors deformity, and is the rule of order and beauty; there is no deformity but in Monstrosity, wherein, notwithstanding there is a kind of Beauty. Nature so ingeniously contriving the irregular parts, as they become sometimes more remarkable than the principal Fabrick. To speak yet more narrowly, there was never any thing ugly or mis-shapen, but the Chaos; wherein notwithstanding, to speak strictly, there was no deformity, because no form, nor was it yet impregnant by the voice of God; Now nature is not at variance with Art, nor Art with Nature; they being both servants of his providence: Art is the perfection of Nature: were the World now as it was the sixth day, there were yet a Chaos: Nature hath made one World, and Art another. In brief, all things are artificial; for Nature is the Art of God.

17. This is the ordinary and open way of his providence, which Art and Industry have in a good part discovered, whose effects we may foretel without an Oracle: to foreshew these, is not Prophesie, but Prognostication. There is another way full of Meanders and Labyrinths, whereof the Devil and Spirits have no exact Ephemerides, and that is a more particular and obscure method of his providence, directing the

operations of individuals and single Essences: this we call Fortune, that serpentine and crooked line, whereby he draws those actions his wisdom intends in a more unknown and secret way: This cryptick and involved method of his providence have I ever admired, nor can I relate the History of my life, the occurrences of my days, the escapes of dangers, and hits of chance, with a *Bezo las Manos* to Fortune, or a bare Gramercy to my good Stars: *Abraham* might have thought the *Ram* in the thicket came thither by accident; humane reason would have said, that meer chance conveyed *Moses* in the Ark to the sight of *Pharaoh's* Daughter: What a Labyrinth is there in the story of *Joseph*, able to convert a Stoick? Surely there are in every man's Life certain rubs, doublings and wrenches, which pass a while under the effects of chance, but at the last well examined, prove the meer hand of God. 'Twas not dumb chance, that to discover the Fougade or Powder-plot, contrived a miscarriage in the Letter. I like the Victory of 88. the better for that one occurrence which our enemies imputed to our dishonour, and the partiality of Fortune, to wit, the tempests and contrariety of Winds. King *Philip* did not detract from the Nation, when he said, he sent his Armado to fight with men, and not to combate with the Winds. Where there is a manifest disproportion between the powers and forces of two several agents, upon a Maxime of reason we may promise the Victory to the Superiour; but when unexpected accidents slip in, and unthought of occurrences intervene, these must proceed from a power that owes no

obedience to those Axioms: where, as in the writing upon the wall, we may behold the hand, but see not the spring that moves it. The success of that petty province of *Holland* (of which the Grand *Seignour* proudly said, If they should trouble him as they did the *Spaniard*, he would send his men with shovels and pick-axes, and throw it into the Sea) I cannot altogether ascribe to the ingenuity and industry of the people, but the mercy of God, that hath disposed them to such a thriving Genius; and to the will of his Providence, that disposeth her favour to each Country in their pre-ordinate season. All cannot be happy at once; for because the glory of one State depends upon the ruine of another, there is a revolution and vicissitude of their greatness, and must obey the swing of that wheel, not moved by Intelligences, but by the hand of God, whereby all Estates arise to their *Zenith* and Vertical points according to their predestinated periods. For the lives, not only of men, but of Commonwealths, and the whole World, run not upon a Helix that still enlargeth; but on a Circle, where arriving to their Meridian, they decline in obscurity, and fall under the Horizon again.

18. These must not therefore be named the effects of Fortune, but in a relative way, and as we term the works of Nature: it was the ignorance of mans reason that begat this very name, and by a careless term miscalled the Providence of God: for there is no liberty for causes to operate in a loose and stragling way; nor any effect whatsoever, but hath its warrant from some

universal or superiour Cause. 'Tis not a ridiculous devotion to say a prayer before a game at Tables; for even in *sortilegies* and matters of greatest uncertainty, there is a setled and pre-ordered course of effects. It is.we that are blind, not Fortune: because our Eye is too dim to discover the mystery of her effects, we foolishly paint her blind, and hoodwink the Providence of the Almighty. I cannot justifie that contemptible Proverb, *That fools only are Fortunate*; or that insolent Paradox, *That a wise man is out of the reach of Fortune*; much less those opprobrious Epithets of Poets, *Whore*, *Bawd*, and *Strumpet*. 'Tis, I confess, the common fate of men of singular gifts of mind, to be destitute of those of Fortune; which doth not any way deject the Spirit of wiser judgements, who throughly understand the justice of this proceeding; and being inrich'd with higher donatives, cast a more careless eye on these vulgar parts of felicity. It is a most unjust ambition to desire to engross the mercies of the Almighty, not to be content with the goods of mind, without a possession of those of body or Fortune: and it is an error worse than heresie, to adore these complemental and circumstantial pieces of felicity, and undervalue those perfections and essential points of happiness, wherein we resemble our Maker. To wiser desires it is satisfaction enough to deserve, though not to enjoy the favours of Fortune; let Providence provide for Fools: 'tis not partiality, but equity in God, who deals with us but as our natural Parents; those that are able of Body and Mind, he leaves to their deserts; to those of weaker merits he imparts a larger portion,

and pieces out the defect of one, by the access of the other. Thus have we no just quarrel with Nature, for leaving us naked; or to envy the Horns, Hoofs, Skins and Furs of other Creatures, being provided with Reason, that can supply them all. We need not labour with so many Arguments to confute Judicial Astrology; for if there be a truth therein, it doth not injure Divinity: if to be born under *Mercury* disposeth us to be witty, under *Jupiter* to be wealthy; I do not owe a Knee unto these, but unto that merciful Hand that hath ordered my indifferent and uncertain nativity unto such benevolous Aspects. Those that hold that all things are governed by Fortune, had not erred, had they not persisted there: The *Romans* that erected a Temple to Fortune, acknowledged therein, though in a blinder way, somewhat of Divinity; for in a wise supputation all things begin and end in the Almighty. There is a nearer way to Heaven than *Homer's* Chain; an easie Logick may conjoyn Heaven and Earth, in one Argument, and with less than a *Sorites* resolve all things into God. For though we christen effects by their most sensible and nearest Causes, yet is God the true and infallible Cause of all, whose concourse though it be general, yet doth it subdivide it self into the particular Actions of every thing, and is that Spirit, by which each singular Essence not only subsists, but performs its operation.

19. The bad construction, and perverse comment on these pair of second Causes, or visible hands of God, have perverted the Devotion of many unto

Atheism; who forgetting the honest Advisoes of Faith, have listened unto the conspiracy of Passion and Reason. I have therefore always endeavoured to compose those Feuds and angry Dissentions between Affection, Faith and Reason: For there is in our Soul a kind of Triumvirate, or triple Government of three Competitors, which distract the Peace of this our Common-wealth, not less than did that other the State of *Rome*.

As Reason is a Rebel unto Faith, so Passion unto Reason: As the Propositions of Faith seem absurd unto Reason, so the Theorems of Reason unto Passion, and both unto Reason; yet a moderate and peaceable discretion may so state and order the matter, that they may be all Kings, and yet make but one Monarchy, every one exercising his Soveraignty and Prerogative in a due time and place, according to the restraint and limit of circumstance. There is, as in Philosophy, so in Divinity, sturdy doubts and boisterous Objections, wherewith the unhappiness of our knowledge too nearly acquainteth us. More of these no man hath known than my self, which I confess I conquered, not in a martial posture, but on my Knees. For our endeavours are not only to combat with doubts, but always to dispute with the Devil: the villany of that Spirit takes a hint of Infidelity from our Studies, and by demonstrating a naturality in one way, makes us mistrust a miracle in another. Thus having perused the *Archidoxis*, and read the secret Sympathies of things, he would disswade my belief from the miracle of the Brazen Serpent, make me

conceit that Image worked by Sympathy, and was but an *Ægyptian* trick to cure their Diseases without a miracle. Again, having seen some experiments of *Bitumen*, and having read far more of *Naphtha*, he whispered to my curiosity the fire of the Altar might be natural; and bid me mistrust a miracle in *Elias*, when he entrenched the Altar round with Water: for that inflamable substance yields not easily unto Water, but flames in the Arms of its Antagonist. And thus would he inveagle my belief to think the combustion of *Sodom* might be natural, and that there was an Asphaltick and Bituminous nature in that Lake before the Fire of *Gomorrah*. I know that *Manna* is now plentifully gathered in *Calabria*; and *Josephus* tells me, in his days it was as plentiful in *Arabia*; the Devil therefore made the *quære*, Where was then the miracle in the days of *Moses*: the *Israelite* saw but that in his time, the Natives of those Countries behold in ours. Thus the Devil played at Chess with me, and yielding a Pawn, thought to gain a Queen of me, taking advantage of my honest endeavours; and whilst I laboured to raise the structure of my Reason, he strived to undermine the edifice of my Faith.

20. Neither had these or any other ever such advantage of me, as to incline me to any point of Infidelity or desperate positions of Atheism; for I have been these many years of opinion there was never any. Those that held Religion was the difference of Man from Beasts, have spoken probably, and proceed upon a principle as inductive as the other. That doctrine of

Epicurus, that denied the Providence of God, was no Atheism, but a magnificent and high strained conceit of his Majesty, which he deemed too sublime to mind the trivial Actions of those inferiour Creatures. That fatal necessity of the Stoicks, is nothing but the immutable Law of his will. Those that heretofore denied the Divinity of the Holy Ghost, have been condemned, but as Hereticks; and those that now deny our Saviour (though more than Hereticks) are not so much as Atheists: for though they deny two persons in the Trinity, they hold as we do, there is but one God.

That Villain and Secretary of Hell, that composed that miscreant piece of the three Impostors, though divided from all Religions, and was neither Jew, Turk nor Christian, was not a positive Atheist. I confess every Country hath its *Machiavel*, every Age its *Lucian*, whereof common Heads must not hear, nor more advanced Judgments too rashly venture on: It is the Rhetorick of Satan, and may pervert a loose or prejudicate belief.

21. I confess I have perused them all, and can discover nothing that may startle a discreet belief; yet are their heads carried off with the Wind and breath of such motives. I remember a Doctor in Physick of *Italy*, who could not perfectly believe the immortality of the Soul, because *Galen* seemed to make a doubt thereof. With another I was familiarly acquainted in *France*, a Divine, and a man of singular parts, that on the same point was so plunged and gravelled with

three lines of *Seneca*, that all our Antidotes, drawn from both Scripture and Philosophy, could not expel the poyson of his errour. There are a set of Heads, that can credit the relations of Mariners, yet question the Testimonies of St. *Paul*; and peremptorily maintain the traditions of *Ælian* or *Pliny*, yet in Histories of Scripture raise Queries and Objections, believing no more than they can parallel in humane Authors. I confess there are in Scripture Stories that do exceed the Fables of Poets, and to a captious Reader sound like *Garagantua* or *Bevis*: Search all the Legends of times past, and the fabulous conceits of these present, and 'twill be hard to find one that deserves to carry the Buckler unto *Sampson*; yet is all this of an easie possibility, if we conceive a divine concourse, or an influence from the little Finger of the Almighty. It is impossible that either in the discourse of man, or in the infallible Voice of God, to the weakness of our apprehensions, there should not appear irregularities, contradictions, and antinomies: my self could shew a Catalogue of doubts, never yet imagined nor questioned, as I know, which are not resolved at the first hearing; not fantastick Queries or Objections of Air; for I cannot hear of Atoms in Divinity. I can read the History of the Pigeon that was sent out of the Ark, and returned no more, yet not question how she found out her Mate that was left behind: That *Lazarus* was raised from the dead, yet not demand where in the interim his Soul awaited; or raise a Law-case, whether his Heir might lawfully detain his inheritance bequeathed unto him by his death, and he, though

restored to life, have no Plea or Title unto his former possessions. Whether *Eve* was framed out of the left side of *Adam*, I dispute not; because I stand not yet assured which is the right side of a man; or whether there be any such distinction in Nature: that she was edified out of the Rib of *Adam*, I believe, yet raise no question who shall arise with that Rib at the Resurrection. Whether *Adam* was an Hermaphrodite, as the Rabbins contend upon the Letter of the Text, because it is contrary to reason, there should be an Hermaphrodite, before there was a Woman; or a composition of two Natures, before there was a second composed. Likewise, whether the World was created in Autumn, Summer, or the Spring, because it was created in them all; for whatsoever Sign the Sun possesseth, those four Seasons are actually existent: It is the Nature of this Luminary to distinguish the several Seasons of the year, all which it makes at one time in the whole Earth, and successively in any part thereof. There are a bundle of curiosities, not only in Philosophy, but in Divinity, proposed and discussed by men of most supposed abilities, which indeed are not worthy our vacant hours, much less our serious Studies. Pieces only fit to be placed in *Pantagruel's* Library, or bound up with *Tartaretus de modo Cacandi*.

22. These are niceties that become not those that peruse so serious a Mystery: There are others more generally questioned and called to the Bar, yet methinks of an easie and possible truth.

'Tis ridiculous to put off, or drown the general Flood of *Noah*, in that particular inundation of *Deucalion*: that there was a Deluge once, seems not to me so great a Miracle, as that there is not one always. How all the kinds of Creatures, not only in their own bulks, but with a competency of food and sustenance, might be preserved in one Ark, and within the extent of three hundred Cubits, to a reason that rightly examines, it will appear very feasible. There is another secret not contained in the Scripture, which is more hard to comprehend, and put the honest Father to the refuge of a Miracle: and that is, not only how the distinct pieces of the World, and divided Islands should be first planted by men, but inhabited by Tigers, Panthers, and Bears. How *America* abounded with Beasts of prey, and noxious Animals, yet contained not in it that necessary Creature, a Horse, is very strange. By what passage those, not only Birds, but dangerous and unwelcome Beasts, came over: How there be Creatures there, (which are not found in this Triple Continent;) all which must needs be strange unto us, that hold but one Ark, and that the Creatures began their progress from the Mountains of *Ararat*: They who to salve this would make the Deluge particular, proceed upon a principle that I can no way grant; not only upon the negative of holy Scriptures, but of mine own Reason, whereby I can make it probable, that the World was as well peopled in the time of *Noah*, as in ours; and fifteen hundred years to people the World, as full a time for them, as four thousand years since have been to us. There are other

assertions and common Tenents drawn from Scripture, and generally believed as Scripture, where unto notwithstanding, I would never betray the liberty of my Reason. 'Tis a Postulate to me, that *Methusalem* was the longest liv'd of all the Children of *Adam*: and no man will be able to prove it; when from the process of the Text, I can manifest it may be otherwise. That *Judas* perished by hanging himself, there is no certainty in Scripture: though in one place it seems to affirm it, and by a doubtful word hath given occasion to translate it; yet in another place, in a more punctual description, it makes it improbable, and seems to overthrow it. That our Fathers, after the Flood, erected the Tower of *Babel*, to preserve themselves against a second Deluge, is generally opinioned and believed, yet is there another intention of theirs expressed in Scripture: Besides, it is improbable from the circumstance of the place, that is, a plain in the Land of *Shinar*: These are no points of Faith, and therefore may admit a free dispute. There are yet others, and those familiarly concluded from the Text, wherein (under favour) I see no consequence: the Church of *Rome*, confidently proves the opinion of Tutelary Angels, from that Answer when *Peter* knockt at the Door; *'Tis not he, but his Angel*; that is, might some say, his Messenger, or some body from him; for so the Original signifies, and is as likely to be the doubtful Families meaning. This exposition I once suggested to a young Divine, that answered upon this point; to which I remember the *Franciscan* Opponent replyed

no more, but That it was a new, and no authentick interpretation.

23. These are but the conclusions and fallible discourses of man upon the Word of God, for such I do believe the holy Scriptures; yet were it of man, I could not chuse but say, it was the singularest, and superlative piece that hath been extant since the Creation: were I a Pagan, I should not refrain the Lecture of it; and cannot but commend the judgment of *Ptolomy*, that thought not his Library compleat without it. The Alcoran of the *Turks* (I speak without prejudice) is an ill composed Piece, containing in it vain and ridiculous Errors in Philosophy, impossibilities, fictions, and vanities beyond laughter, maintained by evident and open Sophisms, the Policy of Ignorance, deposition of Universities, and banishment of Learning, that hath gotten Foot by Arms and violence: This without a blow, hath disseminated it self through the whole Earth. It is not unremarkable what *Philo* first observed, That the Law of *Moses* continued two thousand years without the least alteration; whereas, we see, the Laws of other Common-weals do alter with occasions; and even those, that pretended their Original from some Divinity, to have vanished without trace or memory. I believe besides *Zoroaster*, there were divers that writ before *Moses*, who, notwithstanding have suffered the common fate of time. Mens Works have an age like themselves; and though they out-live their Authors, yet have they a stint and period to their duration: This only is a work too hard

for the teeth of time, and cannot perish but in the general Flames, when all things shall confess their Ashes.

24. I have heard some with deep sighs lament the lost lines of *Cicero*; others with as many groans deplore the combustion of the Library of *Alexandria*: for my own part, I think there be too many in the World, and could with patience behold the urn and ashes of the *Vatican*, could I, with a few others, recover the perished leaves of *Solomon*. I would not omit a Copy of *Enoch's* Pillars, had they many nearer Authors than *Josephus*, or did not relish somewhat of the Fable. Some men have written more than others have spoken; *Pineda* quotes more Authors in one work, than are necessary in a whole World. Of those three great inventions in *Germany*, there are two which are not without their incommodities, and 'tis disputable whether they exceed not their use and commodities. 'Tis not a melancholy *Utinam* of my own, but the desires of better heads, that there were a general Synod; not to unite the incompatible difference of Religion, but for the benefit of learning, to reduce it as it lay at first, in a few, and solid Authors; and to condemn to the fire those swarms & millions of *Rhapsodies* begotten only to distract and abuse the weaker judgements of Scholars, and *to maintain the trade and mystery of Typographers*.

25. I cannot but wonder with what exception the *Samaritans* could confine their belief to the *Pentateuch*,

or five Books of *Moses*. I am ashamed at the Rabbinical Interpretation of the Jews, upon the old Testament, as much as their defection from the New. And truly it is beyond wonder, how that contemptible and degenerate issue of *Jacob*, once so devoted to Ethnick Superstition, and so easily seduced to the Idolatry of their Neighbours, should now in such an obstinate and peremptory belief adhere unto their own Doctrine, expect impossibilities, and in the face and eye of the Church, persist without the least hope of Conversion. This is a vice in them, that were a vertue in us; for obstinacy in a bad Cause, is but constancy in a good. And herein I must accuse those of my own Religion; for there is not any of such a fugitive Faith, such an unstable belief, as a Christian; none that do so oft transform themselves, not unto several shapes of Christianity and of the same Species, but unto more unnatural and contrary Forms, of Jew and Mahometan; that from the name of Saviour, can condescend to the bare term of Prophet; and from an old belief that he is come, fall to a new expectation of his coming. It is the promise of Christ to make us all one Flock; but how and when this Union shall be, is as obscure to me as the last day. Of those four Members of Religion we hold a slender proportion; there are, I confess, some new additions, yet small to those which accrew to our Adversaries, and those only drawn from the revolt of Pagans, men but of negative Impieties, and such as deny Christ, but because they never heard of him: but the Religion of the Jew is expressly against the Christian, and the Mahometan against

both. For the Turk, in the bulk he now stands, he is beyond all hope of conversion; if he fall asunder, there may be conceived hopes, but not without strong improbabilities. The Jew is obstinate in all fortunes; the persecution of fifteen hundred years hath but confirmed them in their Errour: they have already endured whatsoever may be inflicted, and have suffered, in a bad cause, even to the condemnation of their enemies. Persecution is a bad and indirect way to plant Religion; It hath been the unhappy method of angry Devotions, not only to confirm honest Religion, but wicked Heresies, and extravagant Opinions. It was the first stone and Basis of our Faith, none can more justly boast of Persecutions, and glory in the number and valour of Martyrs; For, to speak properly, those are true and almost only examples of fortitude: Those that are fetch'd from the field, or drawn from the actions of the Camp, are not oft-times so truely precedents of valour as audacity, and at the best attain but to some bastard piece of fortitude: If we shall strictly examine the circumstances and requisites which *Aristotle* requires to true and perfect valour, we shall find the name only in his Master *Alexander*, and as little in that Roman Worthy, *Julius Cæsar*; and if any, in that easie and active way, have done so nobly as to deserve that name, yet in the passive and more terrible piece these have surpassed, and in a more heroical way may claim the honour of that Title. 'Tis not in the power of every honest Faith to proceed thus far, or pass to Heaven through the flames; every one hath it not in that full measure, nor in so audacious

and resolute a temper, as to endure those terrible tests and trials; who notwithstanding, in a peaceable way do truely adore their Saviour, and have (no doubt) a Faith acceptable in the eyes of God.

26. Now as all that dye in the War are not termed Souldiers; so neither can I properly term all those that suffer in matters of Religion, Martyrs. The Council of *Constance* condemns *John Huss* for an Heretick; the Stories of his own Party stile him a Martyr: He must needs offend the Divinity of both, that says he was neither the one nor the other: There are many (questionless) canonized on earth, that shall never be Saints in Heaven; and have their names in Histories and Martyrologies, who in the eyes of God are not so perfect Martyrs, as was that wise Heathen *Socrates*, that suffered on a fundamental point of Religion, the Unity of God. I have often pitied the miserable Bishop that suffered in the cause of *Antipodes*, yet cannot chuse but accuse him of as much madness, for exposing his living on such a trifle; as those of ignorance and folly, that condemned him. I think my conscience will not give me the lye, if I say there are not many extant that in a noble way fear the face of death less than my self; yet from the moral duty I owe to the Commandment of God, and the natural respects that I tender unto the conservation of my essence and being, I would not perish upon a Ceremony, Politick points, or indifferency: nor is my belief of that untractible temper, as not to bow at their obstacles, or connive at matters wherein there are not manifest

impieties: The leaven therefore and ferment of all, not only Civil, but Religious actions, is Wisdom; without which, to commit our selves to the flames is Homicide, and (I fear) but to pass through one fire into another.

27. That Miracles are ceased, I can neither prove, nor absolutely deny, much less define the time and period of their cessation: that they survived Christ, is manifest upon the Record of Scripture: that they outlived the Apostles also, and were revived at the Conversion of Nations, many years after, we cannot deny, if we shall not question those Writers whose testimonies we do not controvert, in points that make for our own opinions; therefore that may have some truth in it that is reported by the Jesuites of their Miracles in the *Indies*; I could wish it were true, or had any other testimony than their own Pens. They may easily believe those Miracles abroad, who daily conceive a greater at home, the transmutation of those visible elements into the body and blood of our Saviour: for the conversion of Water into Wine, which he wrought in *Cana*, or what the Devil would have had him done in the Wilderness, of Stones into Bread, compared to this, will scarce deserve the name of a Miracle. Though indeed to speak properly, there is not one Miracle greater than another, they being the extraordinary effects of the Hand of God, to which all things are of an equal facility; and to create the World as easie as one single Creature. For this is also a Miracle, not onely to produce effects against, or above Nature, but

before Nature; and to create Nature as great a Miracle, as to contradict or transcend her. We do too narrowly define the Power of God, restraining it to our capacities. I hold that God can do all things; how he should work contradictions I do not understand, yet dare not therefore deny. I cannot see why the Angel of God should question *Esdras* to recal the time past, if it were beyond his own power; or that God should pose mortality in that, which he was not able to perform himself. I will not say God cannot, but he will not perform many things, which we plainly affirm he cannot: this I am sure is the mannerliest proposition, wherein, notwithstanding, I hold no Paradox. For strictly his power is the same with his will, and they both with all the rest do make but one God.

28. Therefore that Miracles have been, I do believe; that they may yet be wrought by the living, I do not deny: but have no confidence in those which are fathered on the dead; and this hath ever made me suspect the efficacy of reliques, to examine the bones, question the habits and appurtenances of Saints, and even of Christ himself. I cannot conceive why the Cross that *Helena* found, and whereon Christ himself dyed, should have power to restore others unto life: I excuse not *Constantine* from a fall off his Horse, or a mischief from his enemies, upon the wearing those nails on his bridle, which our Saviour bore upon the Cross in his hands. I compute among *Piæ fraudes*, nor many degrees before consecrated Swords and Roses, that which *Baldwyn*, King of *Jerusalem*, return'd the

Genovese for their cost and pains in his War, to wit, the ashes of *John* the Baptist. Those that hold the sanctity of their souls doth leave behind a tincture and sacred faculty on their bodies, speak naturally of Miracles, and do not salve the doubt. Now one reason I tender so little Devotion unto Reliques is, I think, the slender and doubtful respect I have always held unto Antiquities: for that indeed which I admire is far before Antiquity, that is, Eternity; and that is God himself; who though he be styled the ancient of days, cannot receive the adjunct of Antiquity, who was before the World, and shall be after it, yet is not older than it; for in his years there is no Climacter; his duration is Eternity, and far more venerable than Antiquity.

29. But above all things I wonder how the curiosity of wiser heads could pass that great and indisputable Miracle, the cessation of Oracles; and in what swoun their Reasons lay, to content themselves, and sit down with such a far-fetch'd and ridiculous reason as *Plutarch* alleadgeth for it. The Jews that can believe the supernatural Solstice of the Sun in the days of *Joshua*, have yet the impudence to deny the Eclipse, which every Pagan confessed, at his death: but for this, it is evident beyond all contradiction, the Devil himself confessed it. Certainly it is not a warrantable curiosity, to examine the verity of Scripture by the concordance of humane history, or seek to confirm the Chronicle of *Hester* or *Daniel*, by the authority of *Megasthenes* or *Herodotus*. I confess I have had an

unhappy curiosity this way, till I laughed my self out of it with a piece of *Justine*, where he delivers that the Children of *Israel* for being scabbed were banished out of *Egypt*. And truely since I have understood the occurrences of the World, and know in what counterfeit shapes, and deceitful vizards times present represent on the stage things past; I do believe them little more then things to come. Some have been of my opinion, and endeavoured to write the History of their own lives; wherein *Moses* hath outgone them all, and left not onely the story of his life, but as some will have it, of his death also.

30. It is a riddle to me, how this story of Oracles hath not worm'd out of the World that doubtful conceit of Spirits and Witches; how so many learned heads should so far forget their Metaphysicks, and destroy the ladder and scale of creatures, as to question the existence of Spirits: for my part, I have ever believed, and do now know, that there are Witches: they that doubt of these do not onely deny them, but spirits; and are obliquely, and upon consequence a sort not of Infidels, but Atheists. Those that to confute their incredulity desire to see apparitions, shall questionless never behold any, nor have the power to be so much as Witches: the Devil hath them already in a heresie as capital as Witchcraft; and to appear to them, were but to convert them. Of all the delusions wherewith he deceives mortality, there is not any that puzleth me more than the Legerdemain of *Changelings*; I do not credit those transformations of reasonable

creatures into beasts, or that the Devil hath a power to transpeciate a man into a Horse, who tempted Christ (as a trial of his Divinity) to convert but stones into bread. I could believe that Spirits use with man the act of carnality, and that in both sexes; I conceive they may assume, steal, or contrive a body, wherein there may be action enough to content decrepit lust, or passion to satisfie more active veneries; yet in both, without a possibility of generation: and therefore that opinion that Antichrist should be born of the Tribe of *Dan*, by conjunction with the Devil, is ridiculous, and a conceit fitter for a Rabbin than a Christian. I hold that the Devil doth really possess some men, the spirit of Melancholly others, the spirit of Delusion others; that as the Devil is concealed and denyed by some, so God and good Angels are pretended by others whereof the late defection of the Maid of *Germany* hath left a pregnant example.

31. Again, I believe that all that use sorceries, incantations, and spells, are not Witches, or as we term them, Magicians; I conceive there is a traditional Magick, not learned immediately from the Devil, but at second hand from his Scholars, who having once the secret betrayed, are able, and do emperically practise without his advice, they proceeding upon the principles of Nature; where actives aptly conjoyned to disposed passives, will under any Master produce their effects. Thus I think at first a great part of Philosophy was Witchcraft, which being afterward derived to one another, proved but Philosophy, and

was indeed no more but the honest effects of Nature: What invented by us is Philosophy, learned from him is Magick. We do surely owe the discovery of many secrets to the discovery of good and bad Angels. I could never pass that sentence of *Paracelsus*, without an asterisk, or annotation; *Ascendens constellatum multa revelat, quærentibus magnalia naturæ*, i.e. *opera Dei*. I do think that many mysteries ascribed to our own inventions, have been the courteous revelations of Spirits; for those noble essences in Heaven bear a friendly regard unto their fellow Nature on Earth; and therefore believe that those many prodigies and ominous prognosticks, which fore-run the ruines of States, Princes, and private persons, are the charitable premonitions of good Angels, which more careless enquiries term but the effects of chance and nature.

32. Now besides these particular and divided Spirits, there may be (for ought I know) an universal and common Spirit to the whole World. It was the opinion of *Plato*, and it is yet of the *Hermetical* Philosophers: if there be a common nature that unites and tyes the scattered and divided individuals into one species, why may there not be one that unites them all? However, I am sure there is a common Spirit that plays within us, yet makes no part of us; and that is the Spirit of God, the fire and scintillation of that noble and mighty Essence, which is the life and radical heat of spirits, and those essences that know not the vertue of the Sun, a fire quite contrary to the fire of Hell: This is that gentle heat that

brooded on the waters, and in six days hatched the World; this is that irradiation that dispels the mists of Hell, the clouds of horrour, fear, sorrow, despair; and preserves the region of the mind in serenity: whatsoever feels not the warm gale, and gentle ventilation of this Spirit, (though I feel his pulse) I dare not say he lives; for truely without this, to me there is no heat under the Tropick; nor any light, though I dwelt in the body of the Sun.

As when the labouring Sun hath wrought his track
Up to the top of lofty Cancers *back,*
The ycie Ocean cracks, the frozen pole
Thaws with the heat of the Celestial coale;
So when thy absent beams begin t' impart
Again a Solstice on my frozen heart,
My winter 's ov'r; my drooping spirits sing,
And every part revives into a Spring.
But if thy quickning beams a while decline,
And with their light bless not this Orb of mine,
A chilly frost surpriseth every member,
And in the midst of June *I feel* December.
O how this earthly temper doth debase
The noble Soul, in this her humble place.
Whose wingy nature ever doth aspire
To reach that place whence first it took its fire.
These flames I feel, which in my heart do dwell,
Are not thy beams, but take their fire from Hell.
O quench them all, and let thy light divine
Be as the Sun to this poor Orb of mine;
And to thy sacred Spirit convert those fires,
Whose earthly fumes choak my devout aspires.

33. Therefore for Spirits, I am so far from denying their existence, that I could easily believe, that not onely whole Countries, but particular persons have

their Tutelary and Guardian Angels: It is not a new opinion of the Church of *Rome*, but an old one of *Pythagoras* and *Plato*; there is no heresie in it, and if not manifestly defin'd in Scripture, yet is an opinion of a good and wholesome use in the course and actions of a mans life, and would serve as an *Hypothesis* to salve many doubts, whereof common Philosophy affordeth no solution. Now if you demand my opinion and Metaphysicks of their natures, I confess them very shallow, most of them in a negative way, like that of God; or in a comparative, between our selves and fellow-creatures; for there is in this Universe a Stair, or manifest Scale of creatures, rising not disorderly, or in confusion, but with a comely method and proportion. Between creatures of meer existence and things of life, there is a large disproportion of nature; between plants and animals or creatures of sense, a wider difference; between them and man, a far greater: and if the proportion hold one, between Man and Angels there should be yet a greater. We do not comprehend their natures, who retain the first definition of *Porphyry*, and distinguish them from our selves by immortality; for before his Fall, 'tis thought, Man also was Immortal; yet must we needs affirm that he had a different essence from the Angels; having therefore no certain knowledge of their Natures, 'tis no bad method of the Schools, whatsoever perfection we find obscurely in our selves, in a more compleat and absolute way to ascribe unto them. I believe they have an extemporary knowledge, and upon the first motion of their reason do what we cannot without study or

deliberation; that they know things by their forms, and define by specifical difference what we describe by accidents and properties; and therefore probabilities to us may be demonstrations unto them: that they have knowledge not onely of the specifical, but numerical forms of individuals, and understand by what reserved difference each single *Hypostasis* (besides the relation to its species) becomes its numerical self. That as the Soul hath a power to move the body it informs, so there's a faculty to move any, though inform none; ours upon restraint of time, place, and distance; but that invisible hand that conveyed *Habakkuk* to the Lyons Den, or *Philip* to *Azotus*, infringeth this rule, and hath a secret conveyance, wherewith mortality is not acquainted: if they have that intuitive knowledge, whereby as in reflexion they behold the thoughts of one another, I cannot peremptorily deny but they know a great part of ours. They that to refute the Invocation of Saints, have denied that they have any knowledge of our affairs below, have proceeded too far, and must pardon my opinion, till I can throughly answer that piece of Scripture, *At the conversion of a sinner the Angels in Heaven rejoyce*. I cannot with those in that great Father securely interpret the work of the first day, *Fiat lux*, to the creation of Angels, though I confess there is not any creature that hath so neer a glympse of their nature, as light in the Sun and Elements. We stile it a bare accident, but where it subsists alone, 'tis a spiritual Substance, and may be an Angel: in brief, conceive light invisible, and that is a Spirit.

34. These are certainly the Magisterial and master-pieces of the Creator, the Flower or (as we may say) the best part of nothing, actually existing, what we are but in hopes, and probability; we are onely that amphibious piece between a corporal and spiritual Essence, that middle form that links those two together, and makes good the Method of God and Nature, that jumps not from extreams, but unites the incompatible distances by some middle and participating natures: that we are the breath and similitude of God, it is indisputable, and upon record of holy Scripture; but to call our selves a Microcosm, or little World, I thought it onely a pleasant trope of Rhetorick, till my neer judgement and second thoughts told me there was a real truth therein: for first we are a rude mass, and in the rank of creatures, which onely are, and have a dull kind of being not yet priviledged with life, or preferred to sense or reason; next we live the life of Plants, the life of Animals, the life of Men, and at last the life of Spirits, running on in one mysterious nature those five kinds of existences, which comprehend the creatures not onely of the World, but of the Universe; thus is man that great and true *Amphibium*, whose nature is disposed to live not onely like other creatures in divers elements, but in divided and distinguished worlds: for though there be but one to sense, there are two to reason; the one visible, the other invisible, whereof *Moses* seems to have left description, and of the other so obscurely, that some parts thereof are yet in controversie. And truely for the first chapters of *Genesis*, I must confess a great

deal of obscurity; though Divines have to the power of humane reason endeavoured to make all go in a literal meaning, yet those allegorical interpretations are also probable, and perhaps the mystical method of *Moses* bred up in the Hieroglyphical Schools of the *Egyptians*.

35. Now for that immaterial world, methinks we need not wander so far as beyond the first moveable; for even in this material Fabrick the spirits walk as freely exempt from the affection of time, place, and motion, as beyond the extreamest circumference: do but extract from the corpulency of bodies, or resolve things beyond their first matter, and you discover the habitation of Angels, which if I call the ubiquitary, and omnipresent essence of God, I hope I shall not offend Divinity: for before the Creation of the World, God was really all things. For the Angels he created no new World, or determinate mansion, and therefore they are everywhere where is his Essence, and do live at a distance even in himself. That God made all things for man, is in some sense true, yet not so far as to subordinate the Creation of those purer Creatures unto ours, though as ministring Spirits they do, and are willing to fulfil the will of God in these lower and sublunary affairs of man: God made all things for himself, and it is impossible he should make them for any other end than his own Glory; it is all he can receive, and all that is without himself: for honour being an external adjunct, and in the honourer rather than in the person honoured, it was necessary to make a

Creature, from whom he might receive his homage, and that is in the other world Angels, in this, Man; which when we neglect, we forget the very end of our Creation, and may justly provoke God, not onely to repent that he hath made the World, but that he hath sworn he would not destroy it. That there is but one World, is a conclusion of Faith. *Aristotle* with all his Philosophy hath not been able to prove it, and as weakly that the world was eternal; that dispute much troubled the Pen of the Philosophers, but *Moses* decided that question, and all is salved with the new term of a Creation, that is, a production of something out of nothing; and what is that? Whatsoever is opposite to something; or more exactly, that which is truely contrary unto God; for he onely is, all others have an existence with dependency, and are something but by a distinction; and herein is Divinity conformant unto Philosophy, and generation not onely founded on contrarieties, but also creation; God being all things, is contrary unto nothing, out of which were made all things, and so nothing became something, and *Omniety* informed *Nullity* into an Essence.

Athens Nothing

36. The whole Creation is a Mystery, and particularly that of Man; at the blast of his mouth were the rest of the Creatures made, and at his bare word they started out of nothing: but in the frame of man (as the Text describes it) he played the sensible operator, and seemed not so much to create, as make him; when he had separated the materials of other creatures, there consequently resulted a form and soul; but

having raised the walls of man, he was driven to a second and harder creation of a substance like himself, an incorruptible and immortal Soul. For these two affections we have the Philosophy and opinion of the Heathens, the flat affirmative of *Plato*, and not a negative from *Aristotle*: there is another scruple cast in by Divinity (concerning its production) much disputed in the *Germane* auditories, and with that indifferency and equality of arguments, as leave the controversie undetermined. I am not of *Paracelsus* mind, that boldly delivers a receipt to make a man without conjunction; yet cannot but wonder at the multitude of heads that do deny traduction, having no other argument to confirm their belief, then that Rhetorical sentence, and *Antimetathesis* of *Augustine*, *Creando infunditur, infundendo creatur*: either opinion will consist well enough with Religion; yet I should rather incline to this, did not one objection haunt me, not wrung from speculations and subtilties, but from common sense and observation; not pickt from the leaves of any Author, but bred amongst the weeds and tares of mine own brain: And this is a conclusion from the equivocal and monstrous productions in the copulation of Man with a Beast; for if the Soul of man be not transmitted, and transfused in the seed of the Parents, why are not those productions meerly beasts, but have also an impression and tincture of reason in as high a measure, as it can evidence it self in those improper Organs? Nor truely can I peremptorily deny, that the Soul in this her sublunary estate, is wholly, and in all acceptions inorganical, but that for

the performance of her ordinary actions, there is required not onely a symmetry and proper disposition of Organs, but a Crasis and temper correspondent to its operations. Yet is not this mass of flesh and visible structure the instrument and proper corps of the Soul, but rather of Sense, and that the hand of Reason. In our study of Anatomy there is a mass of mysterious Philosophy, and such as reduced the very Heathens to Divinity; yet amongst all those rare discourses, and curious pieces I find in the Fabrick of man, I do not so much content my self, as in that I find not, there is no Organ or Instrument for the rational soul: for in the brain, which we term the seat of reason, there is not any thing of moment more than I can discover in the crany of a beast: and this is a sensible and no inconsiderable argument of the inorganity of the Soul, at least in that sense we usually so conceive it. Thus we are men, and we know not how; there is something in us that can be without us, and will be after us, though it is strange that it hath no history, what it was before us, nor cannot tell how it entred in us.

37. Now for these walls of flesh, wherein the Soul doth seem to be immured, before the Resurrection, it is nothing but an elemental composition, and a Fabrick that must fall to ashes. *All flesh is grass*, is not onely metaphorically, but litterally true; for all those creatures we behold, are but the herbs of the field, digested into flesh in them, or more remotely carnified in our selves. Nay further, we are what we all abhor,

Anthropophagi and Cannibals, devourers not onely of men, but of our selves; and that not in an allegory, but a positive truth: for all this mass of flesh which we behold, came in at our mouths; this frame we look upon, hath been upon our trenchers; in brief, we have devour'd our selves. I cannot believe the wisdom of *Pythagoras* did ever positively, and in a literal sense affirm his *Metempsycosis*, or impossible transmigration of the Souls of men into beasts: of all Metamorphoses, or transmigrations, I believe only one, that is of *Lots* wife; for that of *Nebuchodonosor* proceeded not so far; in all others I conceive there is no further verity than is contained in their implicite sense and morality. I believe that the whole frame of a beast doth perish, and is left in the same state after death, as before it was materialled unto life; that the souls of men know neither contrary nor corruption; that they subsist beyond the body, and outlive death by the priviledge of their proper natures, and without a Miracle; that the Souls of the faithful, as they leave Earth, take possession of Heaven: that those apparitions and ghosts of departed persons are not the wandring souls of men, but the unquiet walks of Devils, prompting and suggesting us unto mischief, blood, and villany, instilling, and stealing into our hearts that the blessed spirits are not at rest in their graves, but wander sollicitous of the affairs of the World; but that those phantasms appear often, and do frequent Cœmeteries, Charnel-houses, and Churches, it is because those are the dormitories of the dead, where the Devil like an insolent Champion beholds

with pride the spoils and Trophies of his Victory over *Adam*.

38. This is that dismal conquest we all deplore, that makes us so often cry (*O*) *Adam quid fecisti*? I thank God I have not those strait ligaments, or narrow obligations to the World, as to dote on life, or be convulst and tremble at the name of death: Not that I am insensible of the dread and horrour thereof, or by raking into the bowels of the deceased, continual sight of Anatomies, Skeletons, or Cadaverous reliques, like Vespilloes, or Grave-makers, I am become stupid, or have forgot the apprehension of Mortality; but that marshalling all the horrours, and contemplating the extremities thereof, I find not any thing therein able to daunt the courage of a man, much less a well-resolved Christian: And therefore am not angry at the errour of our first Parents, or unwilling to bear a part of this common fate, and like the best of them to dye, that is, to cease to breathe, to take a farewel of the elements, to be a kind of nothing for a moment, to be within one instant of a spirit. When I take a full view and circle of my self, without this reasonable moderator, and equal piece of Justice, Death, I do conceive my self the miserablest person extant; were there not another life that I hope for, all the vanities of this World should not intreat a moments breath from me: could the Devil work my belief to imagine I could never dye, I would not outlive that very thought; I have so abject a conceit of this common way of existence, this retaining to the Sun and Elements, I cannot

think this is to be a man, or to live according to the dignity of humanity: in exspectation of a better, I can with patience embrace this life, yet in my best meditations do often defie death: I honour any man that contemns it, nor can I highly love any that is afraid of it: this makes me naturally love a Souldier, and honour those tattered and contemptible Regiments, that will dye at the command of a Sergeant. For a Pagan there may be some motives to be in love with life; but for a Christian to be amazed at death, I see not how he can escape this Dilemma, that he is too sensible of this life, or hopeless of the life to come.

39. Some Divines count *Adam* 30 years old at his Creation, because they suppose him created in the perfect age and stature of man. And surely we are all out of the computation of our age, and every man is some months elder than he bethinks him; for we live, move, have a being, and are subject to the actions of the elements, and the malice of diseases, in that other World, the truest Microcosm, the Womb of our Mother. For besides that general and common existence we are conceived to hold in our Chaos, and whilst we sleep within the bosome of our causes, we enjoy a being and life in three distinct worlds, wherein we receive most manifest graduations: In that obscure World and womb of our mother, our time is short, computed by the Moon; yet longer then the days of many creatures that behold the Sun, our selves being not yet without life, sense, and reason; though for

the manifestation of its actions, it awaits the opportunity of objects, and seems to live there but in its root and soul of vegetation; entring afterwards upon the scene of the World, we arise up and become another creature, performing the reasonable actions of man, and obscurely manifesting that part of Divinity in us, but not in complement and perfection till we have once more cast our secondine, that is, this slough of flesh, and are delivered into the last world, that is, that ineffable place of *Paul*, that proper *ubi* of spirits. The smattering I have of the Philosophers Stone (which is something more then the perfect exaltation of Gold) hath taught me a great deal of Divinity, and instructed my belief, how that immortal spirit, and incorruptible substance of my Soul may lye obscure, and sleep a while within this house of flesh. Those strange and mystical transmigrations that I have observed in Silk-worms, turned my Philosophy into Divinity. There is in these works of nature, which seem to puzzle reason, something Divine, and hath more in it then the eye of a common spectator doth discover.

40. I am naturally bashful, nor hath conversation, age or travel, been able to effront, or enharden me; yet I have one part of modesty, which I have seldom discovered in another, that is, (to speak truely) I am not so much afraid of death, as ashamed thereof; 'tis the very disgrace and ignominy of our natures, that in a moment can so disfigure us, that our nearest friends, Wife and Children stand afraid and start at

us. The Birds and Beasts of the field, that before in a natural fear obeyed us, forgetting all allegiance begin to prey upon us. This very conceit hath in a tempest disposed and left me willing to be swallowed up in the abyss of waters; wherein I had perished unseen, unpityed, without wondering eyes, tears of pity, Lectures of mortality, and none had said, *Quantum mutatus ab illo!* Not that I am ashamed of the Anatomy of my parts, or can accuse Nature for playing the bungler in any part of me, or my own vitious life for contracting any shameful disease upon me, whereby I might not call my self as wholesome a morsel for the worms as any.

41. Some upon the courage of a fruitful issue, wherein, as in the truest Chronicle, they seem to outlive themselves, can with greater patience away with death. This conceit and counterfeit subsisting in our progenies, seems to me a meer fallacy, unworthy the desires of a man, that can but conceive a thought of the next World; who, in a nobler ambition, should desire to live in his substance in Heaven, rather than his name and shadow in the earth. And therefore at my death I mean to take a total adieu of the world, not caring for a Monument, History, or Epitaph, not so much as the memory of my name to be found any where, but in the universal Register of God. I am not yet so Cynical, as to approve the Testament of *Diogenes*, nor do I altogether allow that *Rodomontado* of *Lucan*;

——— *Cælo tegitur, qui non habet urnam.*

He that unburied lies wants not his Herse,
For unto him a Tomb's the Universe.

But commend in my calmer judgement, those ingenuous intentions that desire to sleep by the urns of their Fathers, and strive to go the neatest way unto corruption. I do not envy the temper of Crows and Daws, nor the numerous and weary days of our Fathers before the Flood. If there be any truth in Astrology, I may outlive a Jubilee; as yet I have not seen one revolution of Saturn, nor hath my pulse beat thirty years; and yet excepting one, have seen the Ashes, & left under ground, all the Kings of *Europe*; have been contemporary to three Emperours, four Grand Signiours, and as many Popes: methinks I have outlived my self, and begin to be weary of the Sun; I have shaken hands with delight: in my warm blood and Canicular days, I perceive I do anticipate the vices of age; the World to me is but a dream or mock-show, and we all therein but Pantalones and Anticks, to my severer contemplations.

42. It is not, I confess, an unlawful Prayer to desire to surpass the days of our Saviour, or wish to outlive that age wherein he thought fittest to dye; yet if (as Divinity affirms) there shall be no gray hairs in Heaven, but all shall rise in the perfect state of men, we do but outlive those perfections in this World, to be recalled unto them by a greater Miracle in the next, and run on here but to be retrograde hereafter. Were there any hopes to outlive vice, or a point to be super-

annuated from sin, it were worthy our knees to implore the days of *Methuselah*. But age doth not rectifie, but incurvate our natures, turning bad dispositions into worser habits, and (like diseases) brings on incurable vices; for every day as we grow weaker in age, we grow stronger in sin; and the number of our days doth but make our sins innumerable. The same vice committed at sixteen, is not the same, though it agree in all other circumstances, as at forty, but swells and doubles from that circumstance of our ages, wherein, besides the constant and inexcusable habit of transgressing, the maturity of our judgement cuts off pretence unto excuse or pardon: every sin the oftner it is committed, the more it acquireth in the quality of evil; as it succeeds in time, so it proceeds in degrees of badness; for as they proceed they ever multiply, and like figures in Arithmetick, the last stands for more than all that went before it. And though I think no man can live well once, but he that could live twice, yet for my own part I would not live over my hours past, or begin again the thred of my days: not upon *Cicero's* ground, because I have lived them well, but for fear I should live them worse: I find my growing Judgment daily instruct me how to be better, but my untamed affections and confirmed vitiosity makes me daily do worse; I find in my confirmed age the same sins I discovered in my youth; I committed many then because I was a Child, and because I commit them still, I am yet an infant. Therefore I perceive a man may be twice a Child before the days of dotage; and stand in need of *Æsons* bath before threescore.

43. And truely there goes a great deal of providence to produce a mans life unto threescore; there is more required than an able temper for those years; though the radical humour contain in it sufficient oyl for seventy, yet I perceive in some it gives no light past thirty: men assign not all the causes of long life, that write whole Books thereof. They that found themselves on the radical balsome, or vital sulphur of the parts, determine not why *Abel* lived not so long as *Adam*. There is therefore a secret glome or bottome of our days; 'twas his wisdom to determine them, but his perpetual and waking providence that fulfils and accomplisheth them; wherein the spirits, our selves, and all the creatures of God in a secret and disputed way do execute his will. Let them not therefore complain of immaturity that dye about thirty; they fall but like the whole World, whose solid and well-composed substance must not expect the duration and period of its constitution: when all things are compleated in it, its age is accomplished; and the last and general fever may as naturally destroy it before six thousand, as me before forty; there is therefore some other hand that twines the thread of life than that of Nature: we are not onely ignorant in Antipathies and occult qualities; our ends are as obscure as our beginnings; the line of our days is drawn by night, and the various effects therein by a pensil that is invisible; wherein though we confess our ignorance, I am sure we do not err if we say it is the hand of God.

44. I am much taken with two verses of *Lucan*,

since I have been able not onely as we do at School, to construe, but understand.

Victurosque Dei celant ut vivere durent,
Felix esse mori.

We're all deluded, vainly searching ways
To make us happy by the length of days;
For cunningly to make's protract this breath,
The Gods conceal the happiness of Death.

There be many excellent strains in that Poet, wherewith his Stoical Genius hath liberally supplied him; and truely there are singular pieces in the Philosophy of *Zeno*, and doctrine of the Stoicks, which I perceive, delivered in a Pulpit, pass for current Divinity: yet herein are they in extreams, that can allow a man to be his own *Assassine*, and so highly extol the end and suicide of *Cato*; this is indeed not to fear death, but yet to be afraid of life. It is a brave act of valour to contemn death; but where life is more terrible than death, it is then the truest valour to dare to live; and herein Religion hath taught us a noble example: For all the valiant acts of *Curtius*, *Scevola*, or *Codrus*, do not parallel or match that one of *Job*; and sure there is no torture to the rack of a disease, nor any Ponyards in death it self, like those in the way or prologue to it. *Emori nolo, sed me esse mortuum nihil curo*; I would not dye, but care not to be dead. Were I of *Cæsar's* Religion, I should be of his desires, and wish rather to go off at one blow, then to be sawed in pieces by the grating torture of a disease. Men that look no farther than their outsides, think health an appurtenance unto life, and quarrel with their constitutions for being sick;

but I that have examined the parts of man, and know upon what tender filaments that Fabrick hangs, do wonder that we are not always so; and considering the thousand doors that lead to death, do thank my God that we can die but once. 'Tis not onely the mischief of diseases, and villany of poysons, that make an end of us; we vainly accuse the fury of Guns, and the new inventions of death; it is in the power of every hand to destroy us, and we are beholding unto every one we meet, he doth not kill us. There is therefore but one comfort left, that though it be in the power of the weakest arm to take away life, it is not in the strongest to deprive us of death: God would not exempt himself from that; the misery of immortality in the flesh, he undertook not that was immortal. Certainly there is no happiness within this circle of flesh, nor is it in the Opticks of these eyes to behold felicity; the first day of our Jubilee is Death; the Devil hath therefore failed of his desires; we are happier with death than we should have been without it: there is no misery but in himself, where there is no end of misery; and so indeed in his own sense, the Stoick is in the right. He forgets that he can dye who complains of misery; we are in the power of no calamity while death is in our own.

45. Now besides the literal and positive kind of death, there are others whereof Divines make mention, and those I think, not meerly Metaphorical, as mortification, dying unto sin and the World; therefore, I say, every man hath a double Horoscope, one of his

humanity, his birth; another of his Christianity, his baptism, and from this do I compute or calculate my Nativity; not reckoning those *Horæ combustæ* and odd days, or esteeming my self any thing, before I was my Saviours, and inrolled in the Register of Christ: Whosoever enjoys not this life, I count him but an apparition, though he wear about him the sensible affections of flesh. In these moral acceptions, the way to be immortal is to dye daily; nor can I think I have the true Theory of death, when I contemplate a skull, or behold a Skeleton with those vulgar imaginations it casts upon us; I have therefore inlarged that common *Memento mori*, into a more Christian memorandum, *Memento quatuor Novissima*, those four inevitable points of us all, Death, Judgement, Heaven and Hell. Neither did the contemplations of the Heathens rest in their graves, without further thought of *Rhadamanth* or some judicial proceeding after death, though in another way, and upon suggestion of their natural reasons. I cannot but marvail from what *Sibyl* or Oracle they stole the Prophesie of the worlds destruction by fire, or whence *Lucan* learned to say,

> *Communis mundo superest rogus, ossibus astra Misturus.*
> *There yet remains to th' World one common Fire, Wherein our bones with stars shall make one Pyre.*

I believe the World grows near its end, yet is neither old nor decayed, nor shall ever perish upon the ruines of its own Principles. As the work of Creation was above nature, so its adversary annihilation; without

which the World hath not its end, but its mutation. Now what force should be able to consume it thus far, without the breath of God, which is the truest consuming flame, my Philosophy cannot inform me. Some believe there went not a minute to the Worlds creation, nor shall there go to its destruction; those six days so punctually described, make not to them one moment, but rather seem to manifest the method and Idea of the great work of the intellect of God, than the manner how he proceeded in its operation. I cannot dream that there should be at the last day any such Judicial proceeding, or calling to the Bar, as indeed the Scripture seems to imply, and the literal Commentators do conceive: for unspeakable mysteries in the Scriptures are often delivered in a vulgar and illustrative way; and being written unto man, are delivered, not as they truely are, but as they may be understood; wherein notwithstanding the different interpretations according to different capacities may stand firm with our devotion, nor be any way prejudicial to each single edification.

46. Now to determine the day and year of this inevitable time, is not onely convincible and statute-madness, but also manifest impiety: How shall we interpret *Elias* 6000 years, or imagine the secret communicated to a Rabbi, which God hath denyed unto his Angels? It had been an excellent Quære to have posed the Devil of *Delphos*, and must needs have forced him to some strange amphibology; it hath not onely mocked the predictions of sundry Astrologers

in Ages past, but the prophesies of many melancholy heads in these present, who neither understanding reasonably things past or present, pretend a knowledge of things to come; heads ordained onely to manifest the incredible effects of melancholy, and to fulfil old prophecies rather than be the authors of new. In those days there shall come Wars and rumours of Wars, to me seems no prophecy, but a constant truth, in all times verified since it was pronounced: There shall be signs in the Moon and Stars; how comes he then like a Thief in the night, when he gives an item of his coming? That common sign drawn from the revelation of Antichrist, is as obscure as any; in our common compute he hath been come these many years; but for my own part to speak freely, I am half of opinion that Antichrist is the Philosophers stone in Divinity; for the discovery and invention thereof, though there be prescribed rules, and probable inductions, yet hath hardly any man attained the perfect discovery thereof. That general opinion that the World grows neer its end, hath possessed all ages past as neerly as ours; I am afraid that the Souls that now depart, cannot escape that lingring expostulation of the Saints under the Altar, *Quousque Domine? How long, O Lord?* and groan in the expectation of that great Jubilee.

47. This is the day that must make good that great attribute of God, his Justice; that must reconcile those unanswerable doubts that torment the wisest understandings, and reduce those seeming inequalities, and

respective distributions in this world, to an equality and recompensive Justice in the next. This is that one day, that shall include and comprehend all that went before it; wherein, as in the last scene, all the Actors must enter, to compleat and make up the Catastrophe of this great piece. This is the day whose memory hath onely power to make us honest in the dark, and to be vertuous without a witness. *Ipsa sui pretium virtus sibi*, that Vertue is her own reward, is but a cold principle, and not able to maintain our variable resolutions in a constant and setled way of goodness. I have practised that honest artifice of *Seneca*, and in my retired and solitary imaginations, to detain me from the foulness of vice, have fancied to my self the presence of my dear and worthiest friends, before whom I should lose my head, rather then be vitious; yet herein I found that there was nought but moral honesty, and this was not to be vertuous for his sake who must reward us at the last. I have tryed if I could reach that great resolution of his, to be honest without a thought of Heaven or Hell; and indeed I found upon a natural inclination, and inbred loyalty unto virtue, that I could serve her without a livery; yet not in that resolved and venerable way, but that the frailty of my nature, upon any easie temptation, might be induced to forget her. The life therefore and spirit of all our actions, is the resurrection, and a stable apprehension that our ashes shall enjoy the fruit of our pious endeavours; without this, all Religion is a Fallacy, and those impieties of *Lucian*, *Euripides*, and *Julian*, are no blasphemies, but subtle

verities, and Atheists have been the onely Philosophers.

48. How shall the dead arise, is no question of my Faith; to believe onely possibilities, is not Faith, but meer Philosophy. Many things are true in Divinity, which are neither inducible by reason, nor confirmable by sense; and many things in Philosophy confirmable by sense, yet not inducible by reason. Thus it is impossible by any solid or demonstrative reasons to perswade a man to believe the conversion of the Needle to the North; though this be possible and true, and easily credible, upon a single experiment unto the sense. I believe that our estranged and divided ashes shall unite again; that our separated dust after so many Pilgrimages and transformations into the parts of Minerals, Plants, Animals, Elements, shall at the Voice of God return into their primitive shapes, and joyn again to make up their primary and predestinate forms. As at the Creation there was a separation of that confused mass into its pieces; so at the destruction thereof there shall be a separation into its distinct individuals. As at the Creation of the World, all the distinct species that we behold, lay involved in one mass, till the fruitful Voice of God separated this united multitude into its several species: so at the last day, when those corrupted reliques shall be scattered in the Wilderness of forms, and seem to have forgot their proper habits, God by a powerful Voice shall command them back into their proper shapes, and call them out by their single individuals: Then shall

appear the fertility of *Adam*, and the magick of that sperm that hath dilated into so many milions. I have often beheld as a miracle, that artificial resurrection and revivification of *Mercury*, how being mortified into a thousand shapes, it assumes again its own, and returns into its numerical self. Let us speak naturally, and like Philosophers, the forms of alterable bodies in these sensible corruptions perish not; nor as we imagine, wholly quit their mansions, but retire and contract themselves into their secret and unaccessible parts, where they may best protect themselves from the action of their Antagonist. A plant or vegetable consumed to ashes, to a contemplative and school-Philosopher seems utterly destroyed, and the form to have taken his leave for ever: But to a sensible Artist the forms are not perished, but withdrawn into their incombustible part, where they lie secure from the action of that devouring element. This is made good by experience, which can from the Ashes of a Plant revive the plant, and from its cinders recal it into its stalk and leaves again. What the Art of man can do in these inferiour pieces, what blasphemy is it to affirm the finger of God cannot do in these more perfect and sensible structures? This is that mystical Philosophy, from whence no true Scholar becomes an Atheist, but from the visible effects of nature grows up a real Divine, and beholds not in a dream, as *Ezekiel*, but in an ocular and visible object the types of his resurrection.

49. Now, the necessary Mansions of our restored

selves, are those two contrary and incompatible places we call Heaven and Hell; to define them, or strictly to determine what and where these are, surpasseth my Divinity. That elegant Apostle which seemed to have a glimpse of Heaven, hath left but a negative description thereof; *which neither eye hath seen, nor ear hath heard, nor can enter into the heart of man*: he was translated out of himself to behold it; but being returned into himself, could not express it. St. *John's* description by Emerals, Chrysolites, and precious Stones, is too weak to express the material Heaven we behold. Briefly therefore, where the Soul hath the full measure, and complement of happiness; where the boundless appetite of that spirit remains compleatly satisfied, that it can neither desire addition nor alteration, that I think is truly Heaven: and this can onely be in the injoyment of that essence, whose infinite goodness is able to terminate the desires of it self, and the unsatiable wishes of ours; wherever God will thus manifest himself, there is Heaven though within the circle of this sensible world. Thus the Soul of man may be in Heaven any where, even within the limits of his own proper body; and when it ceaseth to live in the body, it may remain in its own soul, that is, its Creator. And thus we may say that St. *Paul*, whether in the body, or out of the body, was yet in Heaven. To place it in the Empyreal, or beyond the tenth sphear, is to forget the worlds destruction; for when this sensible world shall be destroyed, all shall then be here as it is now there, an Empyreal Heaven, a *quasi* vacuity; when to ask where Heaven is, is to demand

where the Presence of God is, or where we have the glory of that happy vision. *Moses* that was bred up in all the learning of the *Egyptians*, committed a gross absurdity in Philosophy, when with these eyes of flesh he desired to see God, and petitioned his Maker, that is truth it self, to a contradiction. Those that imagine Heaven and Hell neighbours, and conceive a vicinity between those two extreams, upon consequence of the Parable, where *Dives* discoursed with *Lazarus* in *Abraham's* bosome, do too grosly conceive of those glorified creatures, whose eyes shall easily out-see the Sun, and behold without a perspective the extreamest distances: for if there shall be in our glorified eyes, the faculty of sight and reception of objects, I could think the visible species there to be in as unlimitable a way as now the intellectual. I grant that two bodies placed beyond the tenth sphear, or in a vacuity, according to *Aristotle's* Philosophy, could not behold each other, because there wants a body or Medium to hand and transport the visible rays of the object unto the sense; but when there shall be a general defect of either Medium to convey, or light to prepare and dispose that Medium, and yet a perfect vision, we must suspend the rules of our Philosophy, and make all good by a more absolute piece of opticks.

50. I cannot tell how to say that fire is the essence of Hell: I know not what to make of Purgatory, or conceive a flame that can either prey upon, or purifie the substance of a Soul: those flames of sulphur mention'd in the Scriptures, I take not to be understood

of this present Hell, but of that to come, where fire shall make up the complement of our tortures, and have a body or subject wherein to manifest its tyranny. Some who have had the honour to be textuary in Divinity, are of opinion it shall be the same specifical fire with ours. This is hard to conceive, yet can I make good how even that may prey upon our bodies, and yet not consume us: for in this material World, there are bodies that persist invincible in the powerfullest flames; and though by the action of fire they fall into ignition and liquation, yet will they never suffer a destruction. I would gladly know how *Moses* with an actual fire calcin'd, or burnt the Golden Calf into powder: for that mystical metal of Gold, whose solary and celestial nature I admire, exposed unto the violence of fire, grows onely hot, and liquifies, but consumeth not: so when the consumable and volatile pieces of our bodies shall be refined into a more impregnable and fixed temper, like Gold, though they suffer from the actions of flames, they shall never perish, but lye immortal in the arms of fire. And surely if this frame must suffer onely by the action of this element, there will many bodies escape, and not onely Heaven, but Earth will not be at an end, but rather a beginning. For at present it is not earth, but a composition of fire, water, earth, and air; but at that time, spoiled of these ingredients, it shall appear in a substance more like it self, its ashes. Philosophers that opinioned the worlds destruction by fire, did never dream of annihilation, which is beyond the power of sublunary causes; for the last and proper action of that element

is but vitrification, or a reduction of a body into glass; and therefore some of our Chymicks facetiously affirm, that at the last fire all shall be christallized and reverberated into glass, which is the utmost action of that element. Nor need we fear this term annihilation, or wonder that God will destroy the works of his Creation: for man subsisting, who is, and will then truely appear a Microcosm, the world cannot be said to be destroyed. For the eyes of God, and perhaps also of our glorified selves, shall as really behold and contemplate the World in its Epitome or contracted essence, as now it doth at large and in its dilated substance: in the seed of a Plant, to the eyes of God, and to the understanding of man, there exists, though in an invisible way, the perfect leaves, flowers and fruit thereof: (for things that are in *posse* to the sense, are actually existent to the understanding.) Thus God beholds all things, who contemplates as fully his works in their Epitome, as in their full volume; and beheld as amply the whole world in that little compendium of the sixth day, as in the scattered and dilated pieces of those five before.

51. Men commonly set forth the torments of Hell by fire, and the extremity of corporal afflictions, and describe Hell in the same method that *Mahomet* doth Heaven. This indeed makes a noise, and drums in popular ears: but if this be the terrible piece thereof, it is not worthy to stand in diameter with Heaven, whose happiness consists in that part that is best able to comprehend it, that immortal essence, that translated divinity and colony of God, the Soul. Surely

though we place Hell under Earth, the Devil's walk and purlue is about it: men speak too popularly who place it in those flaming mountains, which to grosser apprehensions represent Hell. The heart of man is the place the Devils dwell in; I feel sometimes a Hell within my self; *Lucifer* keeps his Court in my breast; *Legion* is revived in me: There are as many Hells, as *Anaxagoras* conceited worlds: there was more than one Hell in *Magdalene*, when there were seven Devils; for every Devil is an Hell unto himself; he holds enough of torture in his own *ubi*, and needs not the misery of circumference to afflict him. And thus a distracted Conscience here, is a shadow or introduction unto Hell hereafter. Who can but pity the merciful intention of those hands that do destroy themselves? the Devil, were it in his power, would do the like; which being impossible, his miseries are endless, and he suffers most in that attribute wherein he is impassible, his immortality.

52. I thank God, and with joy I mention it, I was never afraid of Hell, nor never grew pale at the description of that place; I have so fixed my contemplations on Heaven, that I have almost forgot the Idea of Hell, and am afraid rather to lose the Joys of the one, than endure the misery of the other; to be deprived of them, is a perfect Hell, and needs methinks no addition to compleat our afflictions; that terrible term hath never detained me from sin, nor do I owe any good action to the name thereof: I fear God, yet am not afraid of him; his Mercies make me ashamed of my sins, before his Judgements afraid thereof: these

are the forced and secondary method of his wisdom, which he useth but as the last remedy, and upon provocation; a course rather to deter the wicked, than incite the virtuous to his worship. I can hardly think there was ever any scared into Heaven; they go the fairest way to Heaven, that would serve God without a Hell; other Mercenaries, that crouch unto him in fear of Hell, though they term themselves the servants, are indeed but the slaves of the Almighty.

53. And to be true, and speak my soul, when I survey the occurrences of my life, and call into account the Finger of God, I can perceive nothing but an abyss and mass of mercies, either in general to mankind, or in particular to my self: and whether out of the prejudice of my affection, or an inverting and partial conceit of his mercies, I know not; but those which others term crosses, afflictions, judgements, misfortunes, to me who inquire farther into them then their visible effects, they both appear, and in event have ever proved the secret and dissembled favours of his affection. It is a singular piece of Wisdom to apprehend truly, and without passion, the Works of God, and so well to distinguish his Justice from his Mercy, as not miscall those noble Attributes: yet it is likewise an honest piece of Logick, so to dispute and argue the proceedings of God, as to distinguish even his judgments into mercies. For God is merciful unto all, because better to the worst, than the best deserve; and to say he punisheth none in this World, though it be a Paradox, is no absurdity. To one that hath com-

mitted Murther, if the Judge should only ordain a Fine, it were a madness to call this a punishment, and to repine at the sentence, rather than admire the clemency of the Judge. Thus our offences being mortal, and deserving not onely Death, but Damnation; if the goodness of God be content to traverse and pass them over with a loss, misfortune, or disease; what frensie were it to term this a punishment, rather than an extremity of mercy; and to groan under the rod of his Judgements, rather than admire the Scepter of his Mercies? Therefore to adore, honour, and admire him, is a debt of gratitude due from the obligation of our nature, states, and conditions; and with these thoughts, he that knows them best, will not deny that I adore him. That I obtain Heaven, and the bliss thereof, is accidental, and not the intended work of my devotion; it being a felicity I can neither think to deserve, nor scarce in modesty to expect. For these two ends of us all, either as rewards or punishments, are mercifully ordained and disproportionably disposed unto our actions; the one being so far beyond our deserts, the other so infinitely below our demerits.

54. There is no Salvation to those that believe not in *Christ*, that is, say some, since his Nativity, and as Divinity affirmeth, before also; which makes me much apprehend the ends of those honest Worthies and Philosophers which dyed before his Incarnation. It is hard to place those Souls in Hell, whose worthy lives do teach us Virtue on Earth: methinks amongst those many subdivisions of Hell, there might have been one

Limbo left for these. What a strange vision will it be to see their Poetical fictions converted into Verities, and their imagined and fancied Furies, into real Devils! how strange to them will sound the History of *Adam*, when they shall suffer for him they never heard of! when they who derive their genealogy from the Gods, shall know they are the unhappy issue of sinful man! It is an insolent part of reason, to controvert the Works of God, or question the Justice of his proceedings. Could Humility teach others, as it hath instructed me, to contemplate the infinite and incomprehensible distance betwixt the Creator and the Creature; or did we seriously perpend that one simile of St. *Paul, Shall the Vessel say to the Potter, Why hast thou made me thus?* it would prevent these arrogant disputes of reason, nor would we argue the definitive sentence of God, either to Heaven or Hell. Men that live according to the right rule and law of reason, live but in their own kind, as beasts do in theirs; who justly obey the prescript of their natures, and therefore cannot reasonably demand a reward of their actions, as onely obeying the natural dictates of their reason. It will therefore, and must at last appear, that all salvation is through Christ; which verity I fear these great examples of virtue must confirm, and make it good, how the perfectest actions of earth have no title or claim unto Heaven.

55. Nor truely do I think the lives of these or of any other were ever correspondent, or in all points conformable unto their doctrines. It is evident that

Aristotle transgressed the rule of his own Ethicks; the Stoicks that condemn passion, and command a man to laugh in *Phalaris* his Bull, could not endure without a groan a fit of the Stone or Colick. The *Scepticks* that affirmed they knew nothing, even in that opinion confute themselves, and thought they knew more than all the World beside. *Diogenes* I hold to be the most vain-glorious man of his time, and more ambitious in refusing all Honours, than *Alexander* in rejecting none. Vice and the Devil put a Fallacy upon our Reasons, and provoking us too hastily to run from it, entangle and profound us deeper in it. The Duke of *Venice*, that weds himself unto the Sea, by a Ring of Gold, I will not argue of prodigality, because it is a solemnity of good use and consequence in the State: But the Philosopher that threw his money into the Sea to avoid Avarice, was a notorious prodigal. There is no road or ready way to virtue; it is not an easie point of art to disentangle our selves from this riddle, or web of Sin: To perfect virtue, as to Religion, there is required a *Panoplia*, or compleat armour; that whilst we lye at close ward against one Vice, we lye not open to the venny of another. And indeed wiser discretions that have the thred of reason to conduct them, offend without pardon; whereas, under-heads may stumble without dishonour. There go so many circumstances to piece up one good action, that it is a lesson to be good, and we are forced to be virtuous by the book. Again, the Practice of men holds not an equal pace, yea, and often runs counter to their Theory; we naturally know what is good, but naturally pursue

what is evil: the Rhetorick wherewith I perswade another, cannot perswade my self: there is a depraved appetite in us, that will with patience hear the learned instructions of Reason, but yet perform no farther than agrees to its own irregular humour. In brief, we all are monsters, that is, a composition of Man and Beast; wherein we must endeavour to be as the Poets fancy that wise man *Chiron*, that is, to have the Region of Man above that of Beast, and Sense to sit but at the feet of Reason. Lastly, I do desire with God, that all, but yet affirm with men, that few shall know Salvation; that the bridge is narrow, the passage straight unto life: yet those who do confine the Church of God, either to particular Nations, Churches or Families, have made it far narrower then our Saviour ever meant it.

56. The vulgarity of those judgements that wrap the Church of God in *Strabo's* cloak, and restrain it unto *Europe*, seem to me as bad Geographers as *Alexander*, who thought he had Conquer'd all the World, when he had not subdued the half of any part thereof. For we cannot deny the Church of God both in *Asia* and *Africa*, if we do not forget the Peregrinations of the Apostles, the deaths of the Martyrs, the Sessions of many, and, even in our reformed judgement, lawful Councils, held in those parts in the minority and nonage of ours. Nor must a few differences, more remarkable in the eyes of man, than perhaps in the judgement of God, excommunicate from Heaven one another, much less those Christians who

are in a manner all Martyrs, maintaining their Faith, in the noble way of persecution, and serving God in the Fire, whereas we honour him in the Sunshine. 'Tis true, we all hold there is a number of Elect, and many to be saved; yet take our Opinions together, and from the confusion thereof there will be no such thing as salvation, nor shall any one be saved. For first, the Church of *Rome* condemneth us, we likewise them; the Sub-reformists and Sectaries sentence the Doctrine of our Church as damnable; the Atomist, or Familist, reprobates all these; and all these, them again. Thus whilst the Mercies of God do promise us Heaven, our conceits and opinions exclude us from that place. There must be therefore more than one St. *Peter*; particular Churches and Sects usurp the gates of Heaven, and turn the key against each other: and thus we go to Heaven against each others wills, conceits and opinions; and with as much uncharity as ignorance, do err I fear in points not only of our own, but one anothers salvation.

57. I believe many are saved, who to man seem reprobated; and many are reprobated, who in the opinion and sentence of man stand elected: there will appear at the Last day, strange and unexpected examples, both of his Justice and his Mercy; and therefore to define either, is folly in man, and insolency even in the Devils: those acute and subtil spirits in all their sagacity, can hardly divine who shall be saved; which if they could Prognostick, their labour were at an end; nor need they compass the earth seeking whom

they may devour. Those who upon a rigid application of the Law, sentence *Solomon* unto damnation, condemn not onely him, but themselves, and the whole World; for by the Letter, and written Word of God, we are without exception in the state of Death; but there is a prerogative of God, and an arbitrary pleasure above the Letter of his own Law, by which alone we can pretend unto Salvation, and through which *Solomon* might be as easily saved as those who condemn him.

58. The number of those who pretend unto Salvation, and those infinite swarms who think to pass through the eye of this Needle, have much amazed me. That name and compellation of *little Flock*, doth not comfort, but deject my Devotion, especially when I reflect upon mine own unworthiness, wherein, according to my humble apprehensions, I am below them all. I believe there shall never be an Anarchy in Heaven, but as there are Hierarchies amongst the Angels, so shall there be degrees of priority amongst the Saints. Yet is it (I protest) beyond my ambition to aspire unto the first ranks; my desires onely are, and I shall be happy therein, to be but the last man, and bring up the Rere in Heaven.

59. Again, I am confident, and fully perswaded, yet dare not take my oath of my Salvation: I am as it were sure, and do believe without all doubt, that there is such a City as *Constantinople*; yet for me to take my Oath thereon, were a kind of Perjury, because

I hold no infallible warrant from my own sense to confirm me in the certainty thereof: And truly, though many pretend an absolute certainty of their Salvation, yet when an humble Soul shall contemplate our own unworthiness, she shall meet with many doubts, and suddenly find how little we stand in need of the Precept of St. *Paul, Work out your salvation with fear and trembling*. That which is the cause of my Election, I hold to be the cause of my Salvation, which was the mercy and beneplacit of God, before I was, or the foundation of the World. *Before Abraham was, I am*, is the saying of Christ; yet is it true in some sense, if I say it of my self; for I was not onely before my self, but *Adam*, that is, in the Idea of God, and the decree of that Synod held from all Eternity. And in this sense, I say, the World was before the Creation, and at an end before it had a beginning; and thus was I dead before I was alive; though my grave be *England*, my dying place was Paradise; and *Eve* miscarried of me, before she conceiv'd of *Cain*.

60. Insolent zeals that do decry good Works, and rely onely upon Faith, take not away merit: for depending upon the efficacy of their Faith, they enforce the condition of God, and in a more sophistical way do seem to challenge Heaven. It was decreed by God, that only those that lapt in the water like Dogs, should have the honour to destroy the *Midianites*; yet could none of those justly challenge, or imagine he deserved that honour thereupon. I do not deny, but that true Faith, and such as God requires, is not onely

a mark or token, but also a means of our Salvation; but where to find this, is as obscure to me, as my last end. And if our Saviour could object unto his own Disciples and Favourites, a Faith, that, to the quantity of a grain of Mustard-seed, is able to remove Mountains; surely that which we boast of, is not any thing, or at the most, but a remove from nothing. This is the Tenor of my belief; wherein, though there be many things singular, and to the humour of my irregular self; yet if they square not with maturer Judgements I disclaim them, and do no further favour them, than the learned and best judgements shall authorize them.

THE SECOND PART

1. Now for that other Virtue of Charity, without which Faith is a meer notion, and of no existence, I have ever endeavoured to nourish the merciful disposition and humane inclination I borrowed from my Parents, and regulate it to the written and prescribed Laws of Charity; and if I hold the true Anatomy of my self, I am delineated and naturally framed to such a piece of virtue. For I am of a constitution so general, that it consorts and sympathizeth with all things; I have no antipathy, or rather Idio-syncrasie, in dyet, humour, air, any thing: I wonder not at the *French* for their dishes of Frogs, Snails, and Toad-stools; nor at the Jews for Locusts and Grasshoppers; but being amongst them, make them my common Viands; and I find they agree with my Stomach as well as theirs. I could digest a Sallad gathered in a Church-yard, as well as in a Garden. I cannot start at the presence of a Serpent, Scorpion, Lizard, or Salamander: at the sight of a Toad or Viper, I find in me no desire to take up a stone to destroy them. I feel not in my self those common Antipathies that I can discover in others: Those National repugnances do not touch me, nor do I behold with prejudice the *French*, *Italian*, *Spaniard*, or *Dutch*; but where I find their actions in balance with my Country-men's, I honour, love, and embrace them in the same degree. I was born in the eighth Climate, but seem for to be

framed and constellated unto all: I am no Plant that will not prosper out of a Garden: All places, all airs make unto me one Countrey; I am in *England*, every where, and under any Meridian. I have been ship-wrackt, yet am not enemy with the Sea or Winds; I can study, play, or sleep in a Tempest. In brief, I am averse from nothing; my Conscience would give me the lye if I should absolutely detest or hate any essence but the Devil; or so at least abhor any thing, but that we might come to composition. If there be any among those common objects of hatred I do contemn and laugh at, it is that great enemy of Reason, Virtue and Religion, the Multitude; that numerous piece of monstrosity, which taken asunder seem men, and the reasonable creatures of God; but confused together, make but one great beast, and a monstrosity more prodigious than Hydra: it is no breach of Charity to call these Fools; it is the style all holy Writers have afforded them, set down by *Solomon* in Canonical Scripture, and a point of our Faith to believe so. Neither in the name of Multitude do I onely include the base and minor sort of people; there is a rabble even amongst the Gentry, a sort of Plebeian heads, whose fancy moves with the same wheel as these; men in the same Level with Mechanicks, though their fortunes do somewhat guild their infirmities, and their purses compound for their follies. But as in casting account, three or four men together come short in account of one man placed by himself below them: So neither are a troop of these ignorant Doradoes, of that true esteem and value, as many a forlorn person,

whose condition doth place him below their feet. Let us speak like Politicians, there is a Nobility without Heraldry, a natural dignity, whereby one man is ranked with another; another filed before him, according to the quality of his Desert, and preheminence of his good parts: Though the corruption of these times, and the byas of present practice wheel another way. Thus it was in the first and primitive Commonwealths, and is yet in the integrity and Cradle of well-order'd Polities, till corruption getteth ground, ruder desires labouring after that which wiser considerations contemn; every one having a liberty to amass and heap up riches, and they a license or faculty to do or purchase any thing.

2. This general and indifferent temper of mine, doth more neerly dispose me to this noble virtue. It is a happiness to be born and framed unto virtue, and to grow up from the seeds of nature, rather than the inoculation and forced graffs of education: yet if we are directed only by our particular Natures, and regulate our inclinations by no higher rule than that of our reasons, we are but Moralists; Divinity will still call us Heathens. Therefore this great work of charity, must have other motives, ends, and impulsions: I give no alms only to satisfie the hunger of my Brother, but to fulfil and accomplish the Will and Command of my God: I draw not my purse for his sake that demands it, but his that enjoyned it; I relieve no man upon the Rhetorick of his miseries, nor to content mine own commiserating disposition: for this is still

but moral charity, and an act that oweth more to passion than reason. He that relieves another upon the bare suggestion and bowels of pity, doth not this so much for his sake, as for his own: for by compassion we make others misery our own; and so by relieving them, we relieve our selves also. It is as erroneous a conceit to redress other Mens misfortunes upon the common considerations of merciful natures, that it may be one day our own case; for this is a sinister and politick kind of charity, whereby we seem to bespeak the pities of men in the like occasions: and truly I have observed that those professed Eleemosynaries, though in a croud or multitude, do yet direct and place their petitions on a few and selected persons: there is surely a Physiognomy, which those experienced and Master Mendicants observe; whereby they instantly discover a merciful aspect, and will single out a face, wherein they spy the signatures and marks of Mercy: for there are mystically in our faces certain Characters which carry in them the motto of our Souls, wherein he that cannot read *A. B. C.* may read our natures. I hold moreover that there is a Phytognomy, or Physiognomy, not only of Men, but of Plants and Vegetables; and in every one of them, some outward figures which hang as signs or bushes of their inward forms. The Finger of God hath left an Inscription upon all his works, not graphical, or composed of Letters, but of their several forms, constitutions, parts, and operations; which aptly joyned together do make one word that doth express their natures. By these Letters God calls the Stars by their names; and by

this Alphabet *Adam* assigned to every creature a name peculiar to its Nature. Now there are besides these Characters in our Faces, certain mystical figures in our Hands, which I dare not call meer dashes, strokes *à la volée*, or at random, because delineated by a Pencil that never works in vain; and hereof I take more particular notice, because I carry that in mine own hand, which I could never read of, nor discover in another. *Aristotle* I confess, in his acute, and singular Book of Physiognomy, hath made no mention of Chiromancy; yet I believe the *Egyptians*, who were neerer addicted to those abstruse and mystical sciences, had a knowledge therein; to which those vagabond and counterfeit *Egyptians* did after pretend, and perhaps retained a few corrupted principles, which sometimes might verifie their prognosticks.

It is the common wonder of all men, how among so many millions of faces, there should be none alike: Now contrary, I wonder as much how there should be any. He that shall consider how many thousand several words have been carelessly and without study composed out of 24 Letters; withal, how many hundred lines there are to be drawn in the Fabrick of one Man; shall easily find that this variety is necessary: And it will be very hard that they shall so concur, as to make one portract like another. Let a Painter carelesly limb out a million of Faces, and you shall find them all different; yea let him have his Copy before him, yet after all his art there will remain a sensible distinction; for the pattern or example of every thing is the perfectest in that kind, whereof we still come short,

though we transcend or go beyond it, because herein it is wide, and agrees not in all points unto the Copy. Nor doth the similitude of Creatures disparage the variety of Nature, nor any way confound the Works of God. For even in things alike there is diversity; and those that do seem to accord, do manifestly disagree. And thus is man like God; for in the same things that we resemble him, we are utterly different from him. There was never any thing so like another, as in all points to concur; there will ever some reserved difference slip in, to prevent the identity, without which, two several things would not be alike, but the same, which is impossible.

3. But to return from Philosophy to Charity: I hold not so narrow a conceit of this virtue, as to conceive that to give Alms is onely to be Charitable, or think a piece of Liberality can comprehend the Total of Charity. Divinity hath wisely divided the acts thereof into many branches, and hath taught us in this narrow way, many paths unto goodness: as many ways as we may do good, so many ways we may be charitable: there are infirmities, not onely of Body, but of Soul and Fortunes, which do require the merciful hand of our abilities. I cannot contemn a man for ignorance, but behold him with as much pity as I do *Lazarus*. It is no greater Charity to cloath his body, than apparel the nakedness of his Soul. It is an honourable object to see the reasons of other men wear our Liveries, and their borrowed understandings do homage to the bounty of ours: It is the cheapest way of beneficence, and like the natural charity of the Sun,

illuminates another without obscuring it self. To be reserved and caitiff in this part of goodness, is the sordidest piece of covetousness, and more contemptible than pecuniary Avarice. To this (as calling my self a Scholar) I am obliged by the duty of my condition: I make not therefore my head a grave, but a treasure of knowledge; I intend no Monopoly, but a community in learning; I study not for my own sake only, but for theirs that study not for themselves. I envy no man that knows more than my self, but pity them that know less. I instruct no man as an exercise of my knowledge, or with an intent rather to nourish and keep it alive in mine own head, then beget and propagate it in his; and in the midst of all my endeavours, there is but one thought that dejects me, that my acquired parts must perish with my self, nor can be Legacied among my honoured Friends. I cannot fall out, or contemn a man for an errour, or conceive why a difference in Opinion should divide an affection: For Controversies, Disputes, and Argumentations, both in Philosophy, and in Divinity, if they meet with discreet and peaceable natures, do not infringe the Laws of Charity: in all disputes, so much as there is of passion, so much there is of nothing to the purpose; for then Reason, like a bad Hound, spends upon a false Scent, and forsakes the question first started. And this is one reason why Controversies are never determined; for though they be amply proposed, they are scarce at all handled, they do so swell with unnecessary Digressions; and the Parenthesis on the party, is often as large as the main discourse upon the

subject. The Foundations of Religion are already established, and the Principles of Salvation subscribed unto by all; there remains not many controversies worth a Passion, and yet never any disputed without, not only in Divinity, but inferiour Arts: What a *βατραχομυομαχία* and hot skirmish is betwixt *S.* and *T.* in *Lucian*: How do Grammarians hack and slash for the Genitive case in *Jupiter*? How do they break their own pates to salve that of *Priscian: Si foret in terris, rideret Democritus*. Yea, even amongst wiser militants, how many wounds have been given, and credits slain, for the poor victory of an opinion, or beggerly conquest of a distinction? Scholars are men of Peace, they bear no Arms, but their tongues are sharper than *Actius* his razor; their Pens carry farther, and give a lowder report than Thunder: I had rather stand the shock of a Basilisco, than the fury of a merciless Pen. It is not meer Zeal to Learning, or Devotion to the Muses, that wiser Princes Patron the Arts, and carry an indulgent aspect unto Scholars; but a desire to have their names eternized by the memory of their writings, and a fear of the revengeful Pen of succeeding ages: for these are the men, that when they have played their parts, and had their *exits*, must step out and give the moral of their Scenes, and deliver unto Posterity an Inventory of their Virtues and Vices. And surely there goes a great deal of Conscience to the compiling of an History: there is no reproach to the scandal of a Story; it is such an authentick kind of falshood, that with authority belies our good names to all Nations and Posterity.

4. There is another offence unto Charity, which no Author hath ever written of, and few take notice of; and that's the reproach, not of whole professions, mysteries and conditions, but of whole Nations; wherein by opprobrious Epithets we miscal each other, and by an uncharitable Logick, from a disposition in a few, conclude a habit in all.

Le mutin Anglois, & le bravache Escossois;
Le bougre Italian, & le fol François;
Le poultron Romain, le larron de Gascongne,
L'Espagnol superbe, & l'Aleman yvrongne.

St. *Paul*, that calls the *Cretians* lyars, doth it but indirectly, and upon quotation of their own Poet. It is as bloody a thought in one way, as *Nero's* was in another. For by a word we wound a thousand, and at one blow assassine the honour of a Nation. It is as compleat a piece of madness to miscal and rave against the times; or think to recal men to reason, by a fit of passion: *Democritus*, that thought to laugh the times into goodness, seems to me as deeply Hypochondriack, as *Heraclitus* that bewailed them. It moves not my spleen to behold the multitude in their proper humours, that is, in their fits of folly and madness, as well understanding that wisdom is not prophan'd unto the World, and 'tis the priviledge of a few to be Vertuous. They that endeavour to abolish Vice, destroy also Virtue; for contraries, though they destroy one another, are yet the life of one another. Thus Virtue (abolish vice) is an Idea: again, the community of sin doth not disparage goodness; for when Vice gains upon the major part, Virtue, in whom it

remains, becomes more excellent; and being lost in some, multiplies its goodness in others, which remain untouched, and persist intire in the general inundation. I can therefore behold Vice without a Satyr, content only with an admonition, or instructive reprehension, for Noble Natures, and such as are capable of goodness, are railed into vice, that might as easily be admonished into virtue; and we should be all so far the Orators of goodness, as to protect her from the power of Vice, and maintain the cause of injured truth. No man can justly censure or condemn another, because indeed no man truly knows another. This I perceive in my self; for I am in the dark to all the world, and my nearest friends behold me but in a cloud: those that know me but superficially, think less of me than I do of my self; those of my neer acquaintance think more: God, who truly knows me, knows that I am nothing; for he only beholds me, and all the world; who looks not on us through a derived ray, or a trajection of a sensible species, but beholds the substance without the helps of accidents, and the forms of things, as we their operations. Further, no man can judge another, because no man knows himself; for we censure others but as they disagree from that humour which we fancy laudible in our selves, and commend others but for that wherein they seem to quadrate and consent with us. So that in conclusion, all is but that we all condemn, Self-love. 'Tis the general complaint of these times, and perhaps of those past, that charity grows cold; which I perceive most verified in those which most do manifest the

fires and flames of zeal; for it is a virtue that best agrees with coldest natures, and such as are complexioned for humility. But how shall we expect Charity towards others, when we are uncharitable to our selves? Charity begins at home, is the voice of the World; yet is every man his greatest enemy, and as it were, his own Executioner. *Non occides*, is the Commandment of God, yet scarce observed by any man; for I perceive every man is his own *Atropos*, and lends a hand to cut the thred of his own days. *Cain* was not therefore the first Murtherer, but *Adam*, who brought in death; whereof he beheld the practice and example in his own son *Abel*, and saw that verified in the experience of another, which faith could not perswade him in the Theory of himself.

5. There is, I think, no man that apprehends his own miseries less than my self, and no man that so neerly apprehends anothers. I could lose an arm without a tear, and with few groans, methinks, be quartered into pieces; yet can I weep most seriously at a Play, and receive with true passion, the counterfeit grief of those known and professed Impostures. It is a barbarous part of inhumanity to add unto any afflicted parties misery, or indeavour to multiply in any man, a passion, whose single nature is already above his patience: this was the greatest affliction of *Job*; and those oblique expostulations of his Friends, a deeper injury than the down-right blows of the Devil. It is not the tears of our own eyes only, but of our friends also, that do exhaust the current of our

sorrows; which falling into many streams, runs more peaceably, and is contented with a narrower channel. It is an act within the power of charity, to translate a passion out of one brest into another, and to divide a sorrow almost out of it self; for an affliction, like a dimension, may be so divided, as if not indivisible, at least to become insensible. Now with my friend I desire not to share or participate, but to engross his sorrows, that by making them mine own, I may more easily discuss them; for in mine own reason, and within my self, I can command that, which I cannot intreat without my self, and within the circle of another. I have often thought those noble pairs and examples of friendship not so truly Histories of what had been, as fictions of what should be; but I now perceive nothing in them but possibilities, nor any thing in the Heroick examples of *Damon* and *Pythias*, *Achilles* and *Patroclus*, which methinks upon some grounds I could not perform within the narrow compass of my self. That a man should lay down his life for his Friend, seems strange to vulgar affections, and such as confine themselves within that Worldly principle, Charity begins at home. For my own part, I could never remember the relations that I held unto my self, nor the respect that I owe unto my own nature, in the cause of God, my Country, and my Friends. Next to these three I do embrace my self: I confess I do not observe that order that the Schools ordain our affections, to love our Parents, Wives, Children, and then our Friends; for excepting the injunctions of Religion, I do not find in my self such a necessary and indissoluble Sympathy

to all those of my blood. I hope I do not break the fifth Commandment, if I conceive I may love my friend before the nearest of my blood, even those to whom I owe the principles of life: I never yet cast a true affection on a woman, but I have loved my friend as I do virtue, my soul, my God. From hence me thinks I do conceive how God loves man, what happiness there is in the love of God. Omitting all other, there are three most mystical unions, two natures in one person; three persons in one nature; one soul in two bodies. For though indeed they be really divided, yet are they so united, as they seem but one, and make rather a duality than two distinct souls.

6. There are wonders in true affection; it is a body of *Enigma's*, mysteries and riddles; wherein two so become one, as they both become two: I love my friend before my self, and yet methinks I do not love him enough: some few months hence, my multiplied affection will make me believe I have not loved him at all: when I am from him, I am dead till I be with him; when I am with him, I am not satisfied, but would still be nearer him. United souls are not satisfied with imbraces, but desire to be truly each other; which being impossible, their desires are infinite, and must proceed without a possibility of satisfaction. Another misery there is in affection, that whom we truly love like our own selves, we forget their looks, nor can our memory retain the Idea of their faces; and it is no wonder: for they are our selves, and our affection makes their looks our own. This noble affection falls

not on vulgar and common constitutions, but on such as are mark'd for virtue: he that can love his friend with this noble ardour, will in a competent degree affect all. Now if we can bring our affections to look beyond the body, and cast an eye upon the soul, we have found out the true object, not only of friendship, but Charity; and the greatest happiness that we can bequeath the soul, is that wherein we all do place our last felicity, Salvation; which though it be not in our power to bestow, it is in our charity and pious invocations to desire, if not procure and further. I cannot contentedly frame a prayer for my self in particular, without a catalogue for my friends; nor request a happiness wherein my sociable disposition doth not desire the fellowship of my neighbour. I never hear the Toll of a passing Bell, though in my mirth, without my prayers and best wishes for the departing spirit: I cannot go to cure the body of my patient, but I forget my profession, and call unto God for his soul: I cannot see one say his prayers, but in stead of imitating him, I fall into a supplication for him, who perhaps is no more to me than a common nature: and if God hath vouchsafed an ear to my supplications, there are surely many happy that never saw me, and enjoy the blessing of mine unknown devotions. To pray for Enemies, that is, for their salvation, is no harsh precept, but the practice of our daily and ordinary devotions. I cannot believe the story of the Italian: our bad wishes and uncharitable desires proceed no further than this life; it is the Devil, and the uncharitable votes of Hell, that desire our misery in the World to come.

7. To do no injury, nor take none, was a principle, which to my former years, and impatient affections, seemed to contain enough of Morality; but my more setled years, and Christian constitution, have fallen upon severer resolutions. I can hold there is no such thing as injury; that if there be, there is no such injury as revenge, and no such revenge as the contempt of an injury; that to hate another, is to malign himself; that the truest way to love another, is to despise our selves. I were unjust unto mine own Conscience, if I should say I am at variance with any thing like my self. I find there are many pieces in this one fabrick of man; this frame is raised upon a mass of Antipathies: I am one methinks, but as the World; wherein notwithstanding there are a swarm of distinct essences, and in them another World of contrarieties; we carry private and domestick enemies within, publick and more hostile adversaries without. The Devil, that did but buffet St. *Paul*, plays methinks at sharp with me. Let me be nothing, if within the compass of my self, I do not find the battail of *Lepanto*, Passion against Reason, Reason against Faith, Faith against the Devil, and my Conscience against all. There is another man within me, that's angry with me, rebukes, commands, and dastards me. I have no Conscience of Marble, to resist the hammer of more heavy offences; nor yet so soft and waxen, as to take the impression of each single peccadillo or scape of infirmity: I am of a strange belief, that it is as easie to be forgiven some sins, as to commit some others. For my Original sin, I hold it to be washed away in my

Baptism; for my actual transgressions, I compute and reckon with God, but from my last repentance, Sacrament, or general absolution; and therefore am not terrified with the sins or madness of my youth. I thank the goodness of God, I have no sins that want a name, I am not singular in offences; my transgressions are Epidemical, and from the common breath of our corruption. For there are certain tempers of body, which matcht with an humorous depravity of mind, do hatch and produce vitiosities, whose newness and monstrosity of nature admits no name; this was the temper of that Lecher that carnal'd with a Statua, and constitution of *Nero* in his Spintrian recreations. For the Heavens are not only fruitful in new and unheard-of stars, the Earth in plants and animals; but mens minds also in villany and vices: now the dulness of my reason, and the vulgarity of my disposition, never prompted my invention, nor sollicited my affection unto any of those; yet even those common and quotidian infirmities that so necessarily attend me, and do seem to be my very nature, have so dejected me, so broken the estimation that I should have otherwise of my self, that I repute my self the most abjectest piece of mortality. Divines prescribe a fit of sorrow to repentance; there goes indignation, anger, sorrow, hatred, into mine; passions of a contrary nature, which neither seem to sute with this action, nor my proper constitution. It is no breach of charity to our selves, to be at variance with our Vices; nor to abhor that part of us, which is an enemy to the ground of charity, our God; wherein we do but imitate our

great selves the world, whose divided Antipathies and contrary faces do yet carry a charitable regard unto the whole by their particular discords, preserving the common harmony, and keeping in fetters those powers, whose rebellions once Masters, might be the ruine of all.

8. I thank God, amongst those millions of Vices I do inherit and hold from *Adam*, I have escaped one, and that a mortal enemy to Charity, the first and father-sin, not onely of man, but of the devil, Pride; a vice whose name is comprehended in a Monosyllable, but in its nature not circumscribed with a World. I have escaped it in a condition that can hardly avoid it. Those petty acquisitions and reputed perfections that advance and elevate the conceits of other men, add no feathers unto mine. I have seen a Grammarian towr and plume himself over a single line in *Horace*, and shew more pride in the construction of one Ode, than the Author in the composure of the whole book. For my own part, besides the *Jargon* and *Patois* of several Provinces, I understand no less than six Languages; yet I protest I have no higher conceit of my self, than had our Fathers before the confusion of *Babel*, when there was but one Language in the World, and none to boast himself either Linguist or Critick. I have not onely seen several Countries, beheld the nature of their Climes, the Chorography of their Provinces, Topography of their Cities, but understood their several Laws, Customs and Policies; yet cannot all this perswade the dulness of my spirit unto such an

opinion of my self, as I behold in nimbler and conceited heads, that never looked a degree beyond their Nests. I know the names, and somewhat more, of all the constellations in my Horizon; yet I have seen a prating Mariner, that could onely name the pointers and the North Star, out-talk me, and conceit himself a whole Sphere above me. I know most of the Plants of my Countrey, and of those about me; yet methinks I do not know so many as when I did but know a hundred, and had scarcely ever Simpled further than *Cheap-side*. For indeed, heads of capacity, and such as are not full with a handful, or easie measure of knowledge, think they know nothing, till they know all; which being impossible, they fall upon the opinion of *Socrates*, and only know they know not any thing. I cannot think that *Homer* pin'd away upon the riddle of the fishermen, or that *Aristotle*, who understood the uncertainty of knowledge, and confessed so often the reason of man too weak for the works of nature, did ever drown himself upon the flux and reflux of *Euripus*. We do but learn to day, what our better advanced judgements will unteach to morrow: and *Aristotle* doth but instruct us, as *Plato* did him; that is, to confute himself. I have run through all sorts, yet find no rest in any: though our first studies and *junior* endeavours may style us Peripateticks, Stoicks, or Academicks, yet I perceive the wisest heads prove, at last, almost all Scepticks, and stand like *Janus* in the field of knowledge. I have therefore one common and authentick Philosophy I learned in the Schools, whereby I discourse and satisfie the reason of other

men; another more reserved, and drawn from experience, whereby I content mine own. *Solomon*, that complained of ignorance in the height of knowledge, hath not only humbled my conceits, but discouraged my endeavours. There is yet another conceit that hath sometimes made me shut my books, which tells me it is a vanity to waste our days in the blind pursuit of knowledge; it is but attending a little longer, and we shall enjoy that by instinct and infusion, which we endeavour at here by labour and inquisition. It is better to sit down in a modest ignorance, and rest contented with the natural blessing of our own reasons, than buy the uncertain knowledge of this life, with sweat and vexation, which Death gives every fool *gratis*, and is an accessary of our glorification.

9. I was never yet once, and commend their resolutions who never marry twice: not that I disallow of second marriage; as neither in all cases of Polygamy, which considering some times, and the unequal number of both sexes, may be also necessary. The whole World was made for man, but the twelfth part of man for woman: Man is the whole World, and the Breath of God; Woman the Rib, and crooked piece of man. I could be content that we might procreate like trees, without conjunction, or that there were any way to perpetuate the World without this trivial and vulgar way of coition; it is the foolishest act a wise man commits in all his life, nor is there any thing that will more deject his cool'd imagination, when he shall consider what an odd and unworthy piece of folly he hath

committed. I speak not in prejudice, nor am averse from that sweet Sex, but naturally amorous of all that is beautiful; I can look a whole day with delight upon a handsome Picture, though it be but of an Horse. It is my temper, and I like it the better, to affect all harmony; and sure there is musick even in the beauty, and the silent note which *Cupid* strikes, far sweeter than the sound of an instrument. For there is a musick where ever there is a harmony, order or proportion; and thus far we may maintain the musick of the Sphears: for those well-ordered motions, and regular paces, though they give no sound unto the ear, yet to the understanding they strike a note most full of harmony. Whosoever is harmonically composed, delights in harmony; which makes me much distrust the symmetry of those heads which declaim against all Church-Musick. For my self, not only from my obedience, but my particular Genius, I do embrace it: for even that vulgar and Tavern-Musick, which makes one man merry, another mad, strikes in me a deep fit of devotion, and a profound contemplation of the first Composer. There is something in it of Divinity more than the ear discovers: it is an Hieroglyphical and shadowed lesson of the whole World, and creatures of God; such a melody to the ear, as the whole World well understood, would afford the understanding. In brief, it is a sensible fit of that harmony, which intellectually sounds in the ears of God. I will not say with *Plato*, the soul is an harmony, but harmonical, and hath its nearest sympathy unto Musick: thus some whose temper of body agrees, and humours the

constitution of their souls, are born Poets, though indeed all are naturally inclined unto Rhythme. This made *Tacitus* in the very first line of his Story, fall upon a verse, and *Cicero* the worst of Poets, but declaiming for a Poet, falls in the very first sentence upon a perfect Hexameter. I feel not in me those sordid and unchristian desires of my profession; I do not secretly implore and wish for Plagues, rejoyce at Famines, revolve Ephemerides and Almanacks, in expectation of malignant Aspects, fatal Conjunctions, and Eclipses: I rejoyce not at unwholesome Springs, nor unseasonable Winters; my Prayer goes with the Husbandman's; I desire every thing in its proper season, that neither men nor the times be put out of temper. Let me be sick my self, if sometimes the malady of my patient be not a disease unto me; I desire rather to cure his infirmities than my own necessities: where I do him no good, methinks it is scarce honest gain; though I confess 'tis but the worthy salary of our well-intended endeavours. I am not only ashamed, but heartily sorry, that besides death, there are diseases incurable; yet not for my own sake, or that they be beyond my Art, but for the general cause and sake of humanity, whose common cause I apprehend as mine own. And to speak more generally, those three Noble Professions which all civil Commonwealths do honour, are raised upon the fall of *Adam*, and are not exempt from their infirmities; there are not only diseases incurable in Physick, but cases indissolvable in Laws, Vices incorrigible in Divinity: if general Councils may err, I do not see why particular

Courts should be infallible; their perfectest rules are raised upon the erroneous reasons of Man; and the Laws of one, do but condemn the rules of another; as *Aristotle* oft-times the opinions of his Predecessours, because, though agreeable to reason, yet were not consonant to his own rules, and Logick of his proper Principles. Again, to speak nothing of the Sin against the Holy Ghost, whose cure not onely, but whose nature is unknown; I can cure the Gout or Stone in some, sooner than Divinity Pride or Avarice in others. I can cure Vices by Physick, when they remain incurable by Divinity; and shall obey my Pills, when they contemn their precepts. I boast nothing, but plainly say, we all labour against our own cure; for death is the cure of all diseases. There is no Catholicon or universal remedy I know but this, which though nauseous to queasie stomachs, yet to prepared appetites is Nectar, and a pleasant potion of immortality.

10. For my Conversation, it is like the Sun's, with all men, and with a friendly aspect to good and bad. Methinks there is no man bad, and the worst, best; that is, while they are kept within the circle of those qualities, wherein they are good; there is no mans mind of such discordant and jarring a temper, to which a tunable disposition may not strike a harmony. *Magnæ virtutes, nec minora vitia*; it is the posie of the best natures, and may be inverted on the worst; there are in the most depraved and venemous dispositions, certain pieces that remain untoucht, which by an *Antiperistasis* become more excellent, or by the ex-

cellency of their antipathies are able to preserve themselves from the contagion of their enemy vices, and persist intire beyond the general corruption. For it is also thus in nature. The greatest Balsomes do lie enveloped in the bodies of most powerful Corrosives; I say moreover, and I ground upon experience, that poisons contain within themselves their own Antidote, and that which preserves them from the venome of themselves, without which they were not deleterious to others onely, but to themselves also. But it is the corruption that I fear within me, not the contagion of commerce without me. 'Tis that unruly regiment within me, that will destroy me; 'tis I that do infect my self, the man without a Navel yet lives in me; I feel that original canker corrode and devour me; and therefore *Defenda me Dios de me*, Lord deliver me from my self, is a part of my Letany, and the first voice of my retired imaginations. There is no man alone, because every man is a *Microcosm*, and carries the whole World about him; *Nunquam minus solus quam cum solus*, though it be the Apothegme of a wise man, is yet true in the mouth of a fool; indeed, though in a Wilderness, a man is never alone, not only because he is with himself, and his own thoughts, but because he is with the Devil; who ever consorts with our solitude, and is that unruly rebel that musters up those disordered motions which accompany our sequestred imaginations. And to speak more narrowly, there is no such thing as solitude, nor any thing that can be said to be alone, and by it self, but God, who is his own circle, and can subsist by himself; all others, besides

their dissimilary and Heterogeneous parts, which in a manner multiply their natures, cannot subsist without the concourse of God, and the society of that hand which doth uphold their natures. In brief, there can be nothing truly alone, and by it self, which is not truly one; and such is only God: All others do transcend an unity, and so by consequence are many.

11. Now for my life, it is a miracle of thirty years, which to relate, were not a History, but a piece of Poetry, and would sound to common ears like a Fable; for the World, I count it not an Inn, but an Hospital; and a place, not to live, but to dye in. The world that I regard is my self; it is the Microcosm of my own frame that I cast mine eye on; for the other, I use it but like my Globe, and turn it round sometimes for my recreation. Men that look upon my outside, perusing only my condition and Fortunes, do err in my Altitude, for I am above *Atlas* his shoulders. The earth is a point not only in respect of the Heavens above us, but of that heavenly and celestial part within us: that mass of Flesh that circumscribes me, limits not my mind: that surface that tells the Heavens it hath an end, cannot perswade me I have any: I take my circle to be above three hundred and sixty; though the number of the Ark do measure my body, it comprehendeth not my mind: whilst I study to find how I am a Microcosm, or little World, I find my self something more than the great. There is surely a piece of Divinity in us, something that was before the Elements, and owes no homage unto the Sun. Nature

tells me I am the Image of God, as well as Scripture: he that understands not thus much, hath not his introduction or first lesson, and is yet to begin the Alphabet of man. Let me not injure the felicity of others, if I say I am as happy as any: *Ruat cælum, Fiat voluntas tua,* salveth all; so that whatsoever happens, it is but what our daily prayers desire. In brief, I am content, and what should providence add more? Surely this is it we call Happiness, and this do I enjoy; with this I am happy in a dream, and as content to enjoy a happiness in a fancy, as others in a more apparent truth and realty. There is surely a neerer apprehension of any thing that delights us in our dreams, than in our waked senses; without this I were unhappy: for my awaked judgment discontents me, ever whispering unto me, that I am from my friend; but my friendly dreams in night requite me, and make me think I am within his arms. I thank God for my happy dreams, as I do for my good rest, for there is a satisfaction in them unto reasonable desires, and such as can be content with a fit of happiness. And surely it is not a melancholy conceit to think we are all asleep in this World, and that the conceits of this life are as meer dreams to those of the next, as the Phantasms of the night, to the conceits of the day. There is an equal delusion in both, and the one doth but seem to be the embleme or picture of the other; we are somewhat more than our selves in our sleeps, and the slumber of the body seems to be but the waking of the soul. It is the ligation of sense, but the liberty of reason, and our waking conceptions do not match the Fancies of

our sleeps. At my Nativity, my Ascendant was the watery sign of *Scorpius*; I was born in the Planetary hour of *Saturn*, and I think I have a piece of that Leaden Planet in me. I am no way facetious, nor disposed for the mirth and galliardize of company; yet in one dream I can compose a whole Comedy, behold the action, apprehend the jests, and laugh my self awake at the conceits thereof: were my memory as faithful as my reason is then fruitful, I would never study but in my dreams; and this time also would I chuse for my devotions: but our grosser memories have then so little hold of our abstracted understandings, that they forget the story, and can only relate to our awaked souls, a confused and broken tale of that that hath passed. *Aristotle*, who hath written a singular Tract of Sleep, hath not methinks throughly defined it; nor yet *Galen*, though he seem to have corrected it: for those *Noctambuloes* and night-walkers, though in their sleep, do yet injoy the action of their senses: we must therefore say that there is something in us that is not in the jurisdiction of *Morpheus*; and that those abstracted and ecstatick souls do walk about in their own corps, as spirits with the bodies they assume; wherein they seem to hear, and feel, though indeed the Organs are destitute of sense, and their natures of those faculties that should inform them. Thus it is observed, that men sometimes upon the hour of their departure, do speak and reason above themselves; for then the soul beginning to be freed from the ligaments of the body, begins to reason like her self, and to discourse in a strain above mortality.

12. We tearm sleep a death, and yet it is waking that kills us, and destroys those spirits that are the house of life. 'Tis indeed a part of life that best expresseth death; for every man truely lives, so long as he acts his nature, or some way makes good the faculties of himself: *Themistocles* therefore that slew his Soldier in his sleep, was a merciful Executioner; 'tis a kind of punishment the mildness of no laws hath invented; I wonder the fancy of *Lucan* and *Seneca* did not discover it. It is that death by which we may be literally said to dye daily; a death which *Adam* dyed before his mortality; a death whereby we live a middle and moderating point between life and death; in fine, so like death, I dare not trust it without my prayers, and an half adieu unto the World, and take my farewell in a Colloquy with God.

The night is come, like to the day;
Depart not thou, great God, away.
Let not my sins, black as the night,
Eclipse the lustre of thy light.
Keep still in my Horizon; for to me
The Sun makes not the day, but thee.
Thou whose nature cannot sleep,
On my temples centry keep;
Guard me 'gainst those watchful foes,
Whose eyes are open while mine close.
Let no dreams my head infest,
But such as Jacob's *temples blest.*
While I do rest, my Soul advance,
Make my sleep a holy trance.
That I may, my rest being wrought,
Awake into some holy thought;
And with as active vigour run
My course, as doth the nimble Sun.

Sleep is a death; O make me try,
By sleeping, what it is to die:
And as gently lay my head
On my grave, as now my bed.
Howere I rest, great God, let me
Awake again at last with thee.
And thus assur'd, behold I lie
Securely, or to awake or die.
These are my drowsie days; in vain
I do now wake to sleep again:
O come that hour, when I shall never
Sleep again, but wake for ever.

This is the Dormative I take to bedward; I need no other *Laudanum* than this to make me sleep; after which, I close mine eyes in security, content to take my leave of the Sun, and sleep unto the resurrection.

13. The method I should use in distributive Justice, I often observe in commutative; and keep a Geometrical proportion in both; whereby becoming equable to others, I become unjust to my self, and supererogate in that common principle, *Do unto others as thou wouldst be done unto thy self.* I was not born unto riches, neither is it I think my Star to be wealthy; or if it were, the freedom of my mind, and frankness of my disposition, were able to contradict and cross my fates. For to me avarice seems not so much a vice, as a deplorable piece of madness; to conceive our selves Urinals, or be perswaded that we are dead, is not so ridiculous, nor so many degrees beyond the power of Hellebore, as this. The opinions of Theory, and positions of men, are not so void of reason as their practised conclusions: some have held that Snow is black,

that the earth moves, that the Soul is air, fire, water; but all this is Philosophy, and there is no *delirium*, if we do but speculate the folly and indisputable dotage of avarice, to that subterraneous Idol, and God of the Earth. I do confess I am an Atheist; I cannot perswade myself to honour that the World adores; whatsoever virtue its prepared substance may have within my body, it hath no influence nor operation without: I would not entertain a base design, or an action that should call me villain, for the Indies; and for this only do I love and honour my own soul, and have methinks two arms too few to embrace my self. *Aristotle* is too severe, that will not allow us to be truely liberal without wealth, and the bountiful hand of Fortune; if this be true, I must confess I am charitable only in my liberal intentions, and bountiful well-wishes. But if the example of the Mite be not only an act of wonder, but an example of the noblest Charity, surely poor men may also build Hospitals, and the rich alone have not erected Cathedrals. I have a private method which others observe not; I take the opportunity of my self to do good; I borrow occasion of Charity from mine own necessities, and supply the wants of others, when I am in most need my self; for it is an honest stratagem to make advantage of our selves, and so to husband the acts of vertue, that where they were defective in one circumstance, they may repay their want, and multiply their goodness in another. I have not *Peru* in my desires, but a competence, and ability to perform those good works to which he hath inclined my nature. He is rich, who hath enough to

be charitable; and it is hard to be so poor, that a noble mind may not find a way to this piece of goodness. *He that giveth to the poor, lendeth to the Lord*; there is more Rhetorick in that one sentence, than in a Library of Sermons; and indeed if those Sentences were understood by the Reader, with the same Emphasis as they are delivered by the Author, we needed not those Volumes of instructions, but might be honest by an Epitome. Upon this motive only I cannot behold a Beggar without relieving his Necessities with my Purse, or his Soul with my Prayers; these scenical and accidental differences between us, cannot make me forget that common and untoucht part of us both; there is under these *Centoes* and miserable outsides, these mutilate and semi-bodies, a soul of the same alloy with our own, whose Genealogy is God as well as ours, and in as fair a way to Salvation as our selves. Statists that labour to contrive a Common-wealth without our poverty, take away the object of charity, not understanding only the Common-wealth of a Christian, but forgetting the prophecie of Christ.

14. Now there is another part of charity, which is the Basis and Pillar of this, and that is the love of God, for whom we love our neighbour; for this I think charity, to love God for himself, and our neighbour for God. All that is truly amiable is God, or as it were a divided piece of him, that retains a reflex or shadow of himself. Nor is it strange that we should place affection on that which is invisible; all that we truly love is thus; what we adore under affection of

our senses, deserves not the honour of so pure a title. Thus we adore virtue, though to the eyes of sense she be invisible: Thus that part of our noble friends that we love, is not that part that we imbrace, but that insensible part that our arms cannot embrace. God being all goodness, can love nothing but himself, and the traduction of his holy Spirit. Let us call to assize the loves of our parents, the affection of our wives and children, and they are all dumb shows and dreams, without reality, truth or constancy: for first, there is a strong bond of affection between us and our Parents; yet how easily dissolved? We betake our selves to a woman, forget our mother in a wife, and the womb that bare us, in that that shall bear our Image: this woman blessing us with children, our affection leaves the level it held before, and sinks from our bed unto our issue and picture of Posterity, where affection holds no steady mansion. They, growing up in years, desire our ends; or applying themselves to a woman, take a lawful way to love another better than our selves. Thus I perceive a man may be buried alive, and behold his grave in his own issue.

15. I conclude therefore and say, there is no happiness under (or as *Copernicus* will have it, above) the Sun, nor any Crambe in that repeated verity and burthen of all the wisdom of *Solomon*, *All is vanity and vexation of Spirit*. There is no felicity in that the World adores: *Aristotle* whilst he labours to refute the Idea's of *Plato*, falls upon one himself: for his *summum bonum* is a *Chimæra*, and there is no such thing as his

Felicity. That wherein God himself is happy, the holy Angels are happy, in whose defect the Devils are unhappy; that dare I call happiness: whatsoever conduceth unto this, may with an easy Metaphor deserve that name; whatsoever else the World terms Happiness, is to me a story out of *Pliny*, a tale of *Boccace* or *Malizspini*; an apparition or neat delusion, wherein there is no more of Happiness, than the name. Bless me in this life with but peace of my Conscience, command of my affections, the love of thy self and my dearest friends, and I shall be happy enough to pity *Cæsar*. These are, O Lord, the humble desires of my most reasonable ambition, and all I dare call happiness on earth; wherein I set no rule or limit to thy Hand or Providence; dispose of me according to the wisdom of thy pleasure. Thy will be done, though in my own undoing.

NOTES

THE FIRST PART

Page 1. Section 1.

the general scandal: the ill repute in which his profession is held. Two out of every three, according to Keck, were regarded as atheists. Hence the proverb, *Ubi tres medici, duo athei*. In describing the "Doctour of Phisyk," Chaucer (*Prologue*, 438) says:

"His studie was but litel on the Bible."

Browne, in an extract from his *Commonplace Books* (Bohn, III. 364), writes: "Though in point of devotion and piety, physicians do meet with common obloquy, yet in the Roman calendar we find no less than twenty-nine saints and martyrs of that profession."

indifferency: impartiality, absence of bias—now rare in this sense. As regards the form of the word, English possesses a considerable number of pairs in *-ce* and *-cy*, some with a difference of meaning, some without; as *brilliance, brilliancy; coherence, coherency; consistence, consistency; dependence, dependency; emergence, emergency*.

despight. This spelling, which arose under the influence of *right, sight* and similar forms, was common from the sixteenth century to the eighteenth.

clime: region, country, as on p. 2; but on pp. 4 and 99, the word means "climate."

Understanding. The 1682 edition omits the adjective *unwary* (i.e. heedless, unsuspicious, susceptible) found in earlier editions.

no other Name but this: i.e. the name of Christian. In negative and interrogative sentences, a comparative was formerly followed by *but*. *Than* is now the usual construction; or the comparative is dropped and *but* retained. Compare Shakespeare, *Macbeth*, v. viii. 41 *sqq*.:

"The which no sooner had his prowess confirm'd,...
But like a man he died";

Hamlet, I. i. 108:

"I think it be no other but e'en so."

the general Charity: love of my fellow-men.

Stile...Title: i.e. Christian.

Wilkin inserted at the end of Section 1 the following lines from two of the manuscript copies:

"Quousque patiere, bone Jesu?
Judæi te semel, ego sæpius crucifixi;
Illi in Asia, ego in Britannia, Gallia, Germania;
Bone Jesu, miserere mei et Judæorum."

Page 2. Section 2.

Geography of Religions. See p. 4. The 1682 edition has *Religion*, while most of the earlier editions have the plural.

new-cast: re-cast, re-moulded.

the Name: Protestant.

charitable hands: loving, kindly, benevolent.

the Person: Martin Luther, whose indignation was roused in 1517 by the shameless traffic in papal indulgences carried on by John Tetzel. "God willing," cried Luther, "I will beat a hole in his drum." Then followed the nailing of the ninety-five theses on the door of the church in Wittenberg. See Lives of Luther, or Histories of the Reformation, or Keck's lengthy annotation.

fills: singular number though following three subjects, which have just been recognised as plural in the use of the verb *beget*.

Section 3.

shaken hands: said good bye to and parted from. So p. 58, "I have shaken hands with delight." Compare Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, I. v. 128:

"I hold it fit that we shake hands and part."

desperate Resolutions: men of desperate resolution, by the common figure in which the abstract is used for the concrete. The two surreptitious editions have *resolvers*, but the "full and intended copy" has *resolutions*, which Browne kept in his later editions. Besides, this usage is a feature of Browne's style. See Introduction. The men of desperate resolution are those who would make no reform; yet, says Browne, he did not let differences of opinion cause him to be at enmity with them. Compare p. 89.

bottom: ship. So several times in Shakespeare, as *Merchant of Venice*, I. i. 42:

"My ventures are not in one bottom trusted."

new trimm'd: fitted out for sea—archaic usage. So Shakespeare, *Henry VIII*, I. ii. 80.

stand in Diameter and Swords point: diametrically opposed and at daggers drawn. This use of *in diameter* is now obsolete. See p. 72.

Improperations: reproaches, taunts—obsolete word. Compare Holland, *Plutarch's Morals*, 1235: "That improperation and slander that went of him." By *Improperations* Brown means the same as *Terms of Scurrility*. He is fond of such pairs. See *Name and Appellation*, p. 3; and Introduction.

Page 3.

difference: mark the difference between, distinguish. See p. 5.

I am not scrupulous: I have no scruples, do not hesitate.

converse: associate, keep company—obsolete usage. So in A.V., Acts ii. (heading): "Who afterwards devoutly and charitably converse together"; and frequent in Shakespeare, as in *Love's Labour's Lost*, v. ii. 861.

rational Consequence. He could not see that any logical conclusions could be drawn from passages in the Old Testament, as if these were applicable to Christians. The Jews were often forbidden to take part in heathen worship, and punished for doing so: Exodus xxiii., Judges vi., 2 Kings xvi. and xviii., and elsewhere.

For this meaning of *consequence*, see p. 33.

resolved Conscience: freed from doubt, determined, unwavering—obsolete usage.

deceive not: for he takes them as symbols and lively remembrancers, not as wonder-workers.

abuse: do violence to, pervert.

Superstition: as many rites and ceremonies were termed by the Puritans in their misguided zeal.

conversation: manner of conducting oneself, mode of life—archaic usage. So Psalms l. 23: "to him that ordereth his conversation aright."

morosity: sullenness, gloominess, want of sociability. The form *moroseness* is more usual.

civility: act of politeness, courtesy. Browne is here glancing at instances of Puritan "misguided zeal." One preacher rebuked his hearers for sitting in church with their hats off, and bade them leave off the superstitious compliment. Another deliberately omitted the name of Jesus from his prayers lest

anyone should show reverence and thus be guilty of idolatry. Sherfield in the church of St Edmund's, at Salisbury, smashed a stained-glass window. He was tried in Star Chamber, February, 1633.

sensible: perceptible, visible. So pp. 69, 87. Compare Shakespeare, *Macbeth*, II. i. 36 *sq.*:

> "Art thou not, fatal vision, sensible
> To feeling as to sight?"

violate my own arm: do violence to, mutilate—obsolete sense. Then *violate* is carried on to *Church* with the meaning of desecrate, profane.

Page 4.

the Ave-Mary Bell. Browne's own note is: "A Church Bell that tolls every day at six and twelve of the Clock; at the hearing whereof, every one in what place soever, either of House or Street, betakes himself to his prayer, which is commonly directed to the Virgin."

elevation: lifting up of the soul in adoration, devout exaltation—obsolete usage.

in one circumstance: in praying to the Virgin Mary.

consorts: companions, co-mates—obsolete usage. See p. 83.

excess: if the correct reading, is in antithesis to "wept abundantly" and means immoderate indulgence in scorn and laughter. The other reading, *access* = attack, fit, gives a good sense. The same variant reading occurs on p. 26.

questionless: doubtless. This adverbial use is found on pp. 38, 42. Compare Shakespeare, *Merchant of Venice*, I. i. 176:

> "That I should questionless be fortunate."

It was common in the seventeenth century, but is now rare.

both: is here used with three adjectives, not two. Compare Coleridge, *Ancient Mariner*, 613:

> "Both man and bird and beast";

and Goldsmith, *Mad Dog*, 15:

> "Both mongrel, puppy, whelp, and hound."

Zeals: zealous persons, zealots—a seventeenth-century use now obsolete. See Introduction.

stand. Supply *which* as subject out of *whereof*.

vulgar heads: common ordinary persons, the average man. Browne frequently employs *head*, as here, for person in reference to the mind or some quality or attribute. See pp. 10, 11, 29, 84.

look asquint: look awry so as to see distortedly or not at all.

consist: stand steady, stand firm—obsolete usage. See Colossians i. 17, ..."and by him all things consist."

The 1682 edition has *resist*, a less satisfactory reading.

Section 4.

extremity: inordinate intensity or violence—obsolete meaning. The next line has its antithesis, *mediocrity*, moderation.

not rending but easily dividing. Browne is evidently referring to England, where, in contrast to other countries, the reformation may be said to have been carried out calmly, and where the religious settlement under Queen Elizabeth saved the nation from the internecine strife that raged in France. Swift, in his allegory *A Tale of a Tub*, distinguishes in a similar way the treatment of the "coat" by Martin and Jack.

honest: honourable.

Page 5. Section 5.

difference my self nearer: discriminate, mark off so as to distinguish, define. See p. 3.

squares unto: fits in with, agrees. So "if they square not with," p. 82. Compare, p. 92, "to quadrate and consent with us." The preposition is now *with*, not *unto*.

double Obligation: first, as "consonant unto reason"; second, as "framed to my particular Devotion."

Luther. See p. 2.

disproving: disallowing authoritatively—obsolete sense.

Calvin: of Geneva, who drew up the doctrinal system and organised the ecclesiastical discipline which became the standards of the Presbyterian churches.

disavouched: disavowed—obsolete sense.

the Council of Trent: the great Church Council of the sixteenth century, which formulated Roman doctrines and practically excluded from the Catholic Church all who would not acknowledge the Papal supremacy.

the Synod of Dort: in 1618–1619 condemned the doctrines of Arminius as heretical and affirmed the doctrines of Calvin.

my Text: what the Church says, I accept as authoritative where the Scripture is silent; but where the Scripture speaks, I regard what the Church says as merely a comment, an explanation. By the Church, Browne seems to mean sacred tradition, which the Council of Trent declared to be on an equality with Scripture.

from Rome or Geneva: from Roman Catholicism or Calvinism.

unjust scandal: calumny uttered by our adversaries. See p. 1.

rejected the Pope. Macaulay (*Essay on Hallam's Constitutional History*) remarks of Henry: "He punished with impartial severity those who renounced the doctrines of Rome, and those who acknowledged her jurisdiction." Henry's determination to keep the Church of England in the old paths of doctrine is clearly manifest in the Act of the Six Articles (1539), which asserted the truth of transubstantiation, enjoined communion only in one kind for laymen, forbade marriage of priests, imposed the duty of observing vows of chastity, and commanded the retention of private masses and auricular confession.

what his own Predecessors desired. See Histories for the disputes of William I with Gregory VII, Henry I with Anselm, Henry II with Becket, John with Innocent III, and Edward I with Winchelsey; and the statutes of Provisors and of Praemunire in the fourteenth century.

assayed: tried, endeavoured. This form is frequent in A.V. and in Shakespeare, but (except when applied to testing metals) is now generally superseded by *essay*. *Essay* is a refashioning of *assay* and was introduced by Caxton (*O.E.D.*).

the State of Venice: an allusion to a dispute in 1606 when the Pope threatened the Republic of Venice with interdict, which the Republic resented. A reconciliation was effected by France.

Page 6.

Bishop of Rome. The Bishop of Rome, with merely local jurisdiction, developed into the Pope with authority over the Church in Western Europe. To call him Bishop of Rome is to refuse to recognise his headship. Thus, in 1534, the year when the Pope's authority was abolished in England, the Convocations of Canterbury and York declared that the Bishop of Rome had no greater jurisdiction conferred on him by God in the kingdom of England than any other foreign bishop. In the First Prayer-Book of Edward VI we find "the tyrannye of the bishop of Rome and all his detestable enormities."

as a temporal Prince. The Pope ceased to be a temporal prince, September 20, 1870, when Victor Emmanuel's troops entered Rome.

Antichrist...Babylon. To "those popular scurrilities and opprobrious scoffs" may be added Scarlet Woman. These come from the New Testament and have been applied indiscriminately to the Pope and the Church of Rome—2 Thessalonians ii. 3; 1 John ii. 18; Revelation xvii. 1 *sqq*. Antichrist, the great enemy of Christ, has, at different times, been identified with various persons. See also pp. 43, 65.

Charity: the Christian love pictured in 1 Corinthians xiii. Browne's charity was not reciprocated by Rome. For *Religio Medici* was put on the list of books forbidden for Catholics to read. See Introduction.

reaction: retaliation, returning blow for blow.

Satyrs: satires. This obsolete spelling originated in the association of Latin *satira* with Greek *σάτυρος*, satyr. So p. 92.

the vulgar: common, ordinary people. See p. 4.

Rhetorick: persuasion working through the passions as opposed to "Logick," working through the reason. For examples of both, see Shakespeare, *Julius Cæsar*, III. ii.—the logic of Brutus, and the rhetoric of Antony.

patron'd: supported, backed, championed. See p. 90. This use of the word as a verb is rare. *Pardon'd*, the reading of the 1682 edition, seems to be a mistake.

upon a temperate dispute: while arguing temperately, with quiet moderation.

Section 6.

within. Other early editions have *perhaps within.*

upon a disadvantage: on unequal terms.

Page 7.

better setled. *Better* here approaches the sense of more fully, more.

his best Œdipus: his best solver of difficulties. Compare *Christian Morals*, I. 25: "Let Providence, not Chance,...be thy Œdipus in Contingencies." In Greek mythology Œdipus solved the riddle of the Sphinx.

upon a reasonable truce: on taking time to deliberate.

double-fac'd: showing one aspect to one, another to another. Compare, p. 100, "stand like Janus in the field of knowledge"; and, *Christian Morals*, III. 3: "Janus-faced Doctrines."

implicite: as applied to faith, means unquestioning, unreserved, absolute, because not independently arrived at by

the holder but involved in the general belief of the Church. See p. 53. This is a seventeenth-century spelling.

the great wheel. I believe, says Browne, what the Church believes, or, using the terminology of ancient astronomy, I follow "the great wheel," the great circle of the Church, in its revolution; I have no axis of my own, with poles peculiar to myself, on which I rotate; neither do I seem to move backwards and forwards in the fashion of an epicycle. On the Ptolemaic hypothesis an epicycle was a small circle with its centre on the circumference of a greater, both circles being in motion. Thus the progression and regression of a planet were supposed to be explained by its moving in the circumference of an epicycle. See Verity's *Paradise Lost*, Appendix K.

leave no gap: a better reading than *have no gap*, as in the 1682 edition.

greener studies: more youthful, in my younger days. So Shakespeare, *Henry V*, II. iv. 136 *sq.*:

> "Between the promise of his greener days
> And these he masters now."

extravagant and irregular: going beyond bounds and not conforming to rule.

perish not with their Authors. Editors find a parallel to this, if not its original, in Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, I. v. 11: "non enim hominum interitu sententiæ quoque occidunt."

Arethusa: a fountain, not a river. In the mythology of Ancient Greece, the god of the river Alpheus, a stream which in the limestone Peloponnesus repeatedly disappears and for a distance flows underground, fell in love with the nymph Arethusa. She prayed to Artemis, who transformed her into a fountain and opened a passage for her to the Sicilian island Ortygia. Alpheus pursued Arethusa under the sea and appeared in a spring bubbling up close by the fountain Arethusa.

Page 8.

general Council: a Council composed of representatives from the Church as a whole. See p. 103.

like aspects: when the position of planets with regard to each other is the same as at some previous point of time, and when therefore the same influences would produce the same effects. Arianism was resuscitated in the seventeenth century, and was entertained by Milton, Locke and Newton.

till it be. See Introduction.

Metempsuchosis: the transmigration of the soul from one body to another. See p. 53. Note the spelling with *u*, not *y*; found in seventeenth century.

Plato's year: a cycle of years in which the heavenly bodies were supposed to go through all their possible movements and then return to their original positions. Various calculations have been made of its duration—several about 25,000 years and even half as much again. See Mayor's note to Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, II. xx. 51; Jowett's *Plato*, III.; and Verity's note to *Paradise Lost*, v. 583.

there hath been many Diogenes: an example of a frequent use of singular predicate and plural subject, especially common when, as here, the verb precedes. Compare p. 10, "there is yet...many things." Some explain the *hath* in such expressions as a survival in the literary language of the old plural of the present tense in the Southern dialect of Middle English. See Wyld, *Modern Colloquial English*, p. 339.

Diogenes...Timons: cynics...misanthropes. Diogenes was the well-known Cynic philosopher of Athens, Timon the equally well-known misanthrope. See pp. 57, 77.

men are liv'd over again. Compare *Christian Morals*, III. 29: "He who hath thus considered the World, as also how therein things long past have been answered by things present, how matters in one Age have been acted over in another, and how *there is nothing new under the Sun*, may conceive himself in some manner to have lived from the beginning, and to be as old as the World; and if he should still live on, 'twould be but the same thing"; and Chaucer, *Knightes Tale*, 2125:

"There nis no newe gyse, that it nas old."

Section 7.

Arabians: Arabia was the home of this heresy but its originator is unknown.

if that were: if a mortality of the soul should actually be.

throughly: thoroughly. See p. 47.

and that both: and if soul and body. Note the use of *that* to introduce the second conditional clause. This usage is now rare or archaic, but formerly it was common to employ *that* (like *que* in French) as a substitute instead of repeating a previous conjunction, or conjunctive adverb, or phrase. The construction occurs in 1 Chronicles xiii. 2; and in Job xxxi. 38, "If my land cry against me, or that the furrows likewise thereof complain." It is found nearly thirty times in Shake-

speare, as *Hamlet*, I. ii. 1 *sq.*: *Merchant of Venice*, IV. i. 9. See p. 103, note on "that they be."

conceit: notion, idea—obsolete sense. So pp. 10, 29.

should rise. Early editions omit *should*, but the omission was noted as a blunder in the 1643 edition.

merits: demerits, ill deserts.

the last Alarm: the last trump, ushering in the Day of Judgment, fitly called "alarm," as rousing the dead. Other editions have the form *alarum*.

a serious reflex: reflection, consideration—obsolete usage. See p. 16.

challenging: asserting my title to, laying claim to, demanding as a right—archaic. So p. 81.

this prerogative: the privilege of entering into bliss immediately on death.

Origen: an early father of the Church, born in Egypt toward the close of the second century, noted for his learning and saintliness.

PAGE 9.

malice: evil, wickedness—obsolete meaning.

Melancholy...Natures: as Browne himself.

offensive: hurtful, harmful; or having the nature of a transgression. Both meanings are now obsolete.

charitable inducements: motives impelling me to be charitable, to act in a kindly spirit. See p. 65.

contain: keep back, refrain from uttering.

a Bell. See p. 96.

Corps: originally, says *O.E.D.*, a fancy spelling of *cors*, which remains as *corse*. At first the *p* was mute, but has now become regularly sounded. The spelling *corpse* is rare till the nineteenth century.

Orison: prayer—archaic word.

pertinacy. The early editions vary between *pertinacy* and *pertinacity*. *Pertinacy*, stubbornness, perverse obstinacy, now obsolete, is the older word and was very common in the seventeenth century.

were not Heresies in me. For, says Keck, to make a heretic requires not only *error in intellectu* but also *pertinacia in voluntate*.

Councels: a spelling of the sixteenth century and the seventeenth.

single Lapses: mere slips, simple mistakes, "bare Errors."

affections: feelings, dispositions.

singularity: a difference in belief from that generally accepted; personal, independent opinion—a very common meaning in the seventeenth century.

without they be: unless they be. *Without* as a conjunction occurs several times in Shakespeare, e.g. in *Much Ado About Nothing*, III. iii. 86:

"not without the prince be willing."

It is still common in dialects.

PAGE 10.

Lucifer: is a Latin title of the morning-star—"light-bringer"—but the early patristic writers identified Satan, the chief of the rebel angels who fell from heaven, with the Lucifer mentioned in Isaiah xiv. 12, "How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, son of the morning!" Compare Marlowe, *Faustus*, v. 155 *sq.*:

"or as beautiful
As was bright Lucifer before his fall";

Shakespeare, *Henry VIII*, III. ii. 371 *sq.*:

"And when he falls, he falls like Lucifer,
Never to hope again";

and Milton, *Paradise Lost*, VII. 131 *sqq.*:

"Know then that after Lucifer from Heaven
(So call him, brighter once amidst the host
Of Angels than that star the stars among)
Fell with his flaming legions."

Legions. Other early editions add *of Spirits*.

tempted only Eve. See Genesis iii.; and 1 Timothy ii. 14.

was tacitely and upon consequence: implied as a natural consequence. See p. 42; and compare: "Not tacitely or by way of consequence, but in express and binding terms," Strafford, 1639.

them both: Adam and Eve.

SECTION 8.

the Prophesie of Christ: Matthew xxiv. 5, 11, 24.

there must be Heresies: 1 Corinthians xi. 19; 1 Timothy iv. 1; 2 Peter ii. 1.

super-heresies: heresies on heresies. Heresies will themselves divide into sects.

Arians: followers of Arius, who in Alexandria, in the fourth century, denied that Christ is co-equal and co-eternal with the Father, but named him first and highest of created beings.

complexionably: by temperament, constitutionally—obsolete form. Some editions read *complexionally*, which occurs in *Hydriotaphia*.

propense: inclined.

œconomy: organisation. The spelling with *æ* occurs from seventeenth century to nineteenth. Some of the words from Greek originals with *οι*, especially those coming through mediæval Latin or French, have now *e*. Others, mostly of later introduction, have *æ*, as *Œdipus*, *homœopathy*. Compare p. 13.

dichotomy: is, strictly, division into two; here, severance.

subdivide and mince. Here *mince* differs from *subdivide* in suggesting minute subdivision. An example of what Browne means is found in the history of the Church of Scotland. A secession took place, 1733–40, and this body split into two in 1747 on the question of the burgess oath. The two sections were popularly known as "Burghers" and "Anti-Burghers." Later on a second "dichotomy" occurred in regard to the province of the civil magistrate, and hence there arose in both original sections parties nicknamed "Old Lights" and "New Lights." It should be added that the two "New Light" parties united in 1820, and the two "Old Light" parties in 1842.

singular parts and humours: unusual, outstanding (as p. 29) abilities and temperaments. Or does *singular* here mean unusual, peculiar, odd?

singular opinions and conceits: unusual, peculiar, individual opinions and ideas; as explained in the context.

there is yet...many things. For the syntax, see Introduction, and p. 8.

niceties: subtleties, subtle points.

Schools: of the schoolmen, the scholastics, the theologians and philosophers of mediæval Europe.

untouch'd, unimagin'd: not discussed, not thought of.

Page 11.

expatiate: roam unhindered.

without the circle: outside, beyond the bounds. He will not be liable to be accused of heresy.

Section 9.

wingy: soaring aloft as if on wings—obsolete usage. So p. 45.

airy: visionary.

Pia Mater: the innermost of the three membranes surrounding the brain. The phrase is a mediæval Latin translation of the Arabic for "tender mother."

methinks there be not. For, the more the impossibilities, the greater the opportunity for faith to work.

maintained...Reason: defended logically and philosophically.

O altitudo: the opening words of the Vulgate translation of Romans xi. 33: "O the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God! how unsearchable are his judgments, and his ways past finding out!" St Paul has been soaring into lofty heights of speculation about God's ultimate purpose in regard to the Jews, and he now stops his argument to utter this outburst of adoration.

my solitary recreation: my recreation in solitude. Compare, p. 13: "solitary and retired imagination"; and p. 105, "retired imaginations," "sequestred imaginations."

pose: put into a difficulty by puzzling questions, perplex, nonplus. See also pp. 40, 64.

apprehension: understanding, intellect.

Ænigma's: enigmas. We keep the spelling *æ* in some words, as *ægis*, *Cæsar*: in others we replace it by *e*, as *era*, *Etna*.

resolution: solution of a difficulty—rare if not obsolete usage.

Tertullian: born at Carthage about 160, one of the greatest theologians of the Western Church. This saying: "It is certain, because it is impossible," comes from his *de Carne Christi*, 5. Other maxims of Tertullian's are: "The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church," "The unity of heretics is schism," "It is contrary to religion to compel religion."

difficultest. We now say most difficult; but such inflected forms continued common well into the seventeenth century; as in Bacon, Shakespeare, Milton and Fuller. See Introduction.

to credit ordinary. See p. 67, beginning of Section 48. Compare, Hebrews xi. 1: "Now faith is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen."

the Miracle: Exodus xiv. 15 *sqq*.

that greater blessing: John xx. 29: "Jesus saith unto him, Thomas, because thou hast seen me, thou hast believed: blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed."

PAGE 12.

Cenotaphe: seventeenth-century spelling of *cenotaph*, here used of the "empty tomb," the tomb from which Christ rose.

Section 10.

edge: keenness.

adjunct: qualifying addition. See p. 41.

the Apostle: Paul in Ephesians vi. 16: "Above all, taking the shield of faith, wherewith ye shall be able to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked."

we knew nothing. Compare pp. 77, 100.

pliable: yielding, submissive.

an easie and Platonick: poetical, allegorical as contrasted with a precise, scientific definition.

Hermes. Browne quotes in a note the saying in Latin: "Sphæra, cujus centrum ubique, circumferentia nullubi." Hermes is Hermes Trismegistus, the Neo-platonist name of the Egyptian god Thoth, as author of mysterious doctrines, secrets of alchemy, etc. The writings attributed to him are referred to by Milton, *Il Penseroso*, 88 *sq.*:

> "Where I may oft outwatch the Bear,
> With thrice great Hermes."

The "allegorical description" is of unknown origin. Browne gives it in English, *Christian Morals*, III. 2: "Trismegistus his Circle, whose center is every where, and circumference no where, was no Hyperbole"; and alludes to it, *Pseud. Epidem.* VII. 3 *ad finem*, where Wilkin adds an explanatory note by Wren: "Trismegistus sayd God was a circle, whose center, that is, his presentiall and immutable essence, from whence all things have their beinge, is every where, but his circumference, that is, his incomprehensible infinity, is noe where." Compare p. 105.

had as live: had as soon. The phrase is now archaic or dialectal, and the spelling is usually *lief*.

anima est. Aristotle (*De Anima*, II. i. 6) defines the soul as ἐντελέχεια (*entelechia*, absoluteness, actuality, that by which the body actually is); and (*ibid.* II. vii. 4) he defines light as ἐνέργεια τοῦ διαφανοῦς (*actus perspicui*, the impulse of transparency). Browne means he would as soon have the soul described as man's angel, God's body, and light as God's shadow. Compare, *The Garden of Cyrus*, IV.: "The sun itself is but the dark *simulacrum*, and light but the shadow of God."

adumbration: a faint sketch, an outline as of a shadow. See p. 73, "shadow."

haggard and unreclaimed: wild, intractable and untamed. *Haggard* and *unreclaimed* are terms of falconry, and so also are *stoop* and *lure*.

Page 13.

in the same Chapter: Genesis ii. Browne omitted to verify his references here, else he would have discovered that while verse 5 says: "for the Lord God had not caused it to rain upon the earth," in the next verse we read: "But there went up a mist from the earth, and watered the whole face of the ground," and in verse 9: "And out of the ground made the Lord God to grow every tree that is pleasant to the sight, and good for food...and the tree of knowledge of good and evil." Then follows the prohibition, verse 17: "But of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, thou shalt not eat of it: for in the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die." For the tasting of the fruit, see Genesis iii. 6; and for the curse on the serpent, *ibid.* 14. Browne discusses the serpent tempting Eve, *Pseud. Epidem.* v. 4; and whether the fruit was an apple, *ibid.* VII. 1.

Pucellage: maidenhood—obsolete word.

which God ordained. See Deuteronomy xxii. 13 *sqq.*

which God seems to pronounce: Genesis iii. 16: "Unto the woman he said...in sorrow thou shalt bring forth children."

no vulgar: no ordinary, no common, i.e. a more than ordinary, a very uncommon.

Arguments: proofs, evidence—archaic usage.

proper: own—archaic usage.

Section 11.

solitary and retired imagination. See pp. 11, 105.

neque enim: from Horace, *Satires*, I. iv. 133 *sq.*, with *porticus* and *lectulus* exchanging places. Horace means that, when meditating either as he reclines on his couch or as he strolls in his colonnade, he does not fail in his duty to himself.

I am not alone. See p. 105.

the one...the other: wisdom...eternity.

recreate: reinvigorate, enliven. So p. 15.

confound: throw into perplexity, confuse.

without a solœcism: without being guilty of an absurdity. For this spelling, which is found from sixteenth to seventeenth century, see *œconomy*, p. 10.

Extasie: ecstasy, rapture—obsolete spelling.

elder then: older than. So also p. 55. Elder represents the earliest comparative of *old*; but as an adjective it is now very much restricted in use and has lost the construction with *than*. For *then*, see Introduction.

the same Horoscope. A horoscope is a scheme of the twelve houses of heaven, each with its zodiacal sign, to show the disposition of the heavens at a given time, e.g. at the moment of one's birth. Those who have the same horoscope have been born exactly at the same instant. Time began on the first day of the creation of the world, while five days later man was created.

Page 14.

St. Paul's Sanctuary. This is a difficult phrase. It has been suggested that the meaning is: No creature can comprehend God. Browne confounds his understanding by prying into the idea of eternity, and, like St Paul (see p. 11, note with quotation from Romans), he would cry, "O the depth of the riches," etc. See Greenhill, p. 246 *sq*.

I am that I am: Exodus iii. 14.

mortality: mortals. So p. 40 and elsewhere.

have and shall be. Note the omission of *been* after *have*. Compare Shakespeare, *Henry VIII*, III. ii. 178:

> "Which ever has and ever shall be growing."

With mortals the present is here, only to become at once past; and to-morrow when it comes speedily turns into yesterday. In eternity, however, there is no past, no present, no future.

Predestination: the theological doctrine of God's eternal decree fore-ordaining the elect to salvation, "the blessed in Abraham's bosome." The decree fore-ordaining to perdition is frequently distinguished as reprobation; and below we read "the reprobates in the flames."

prescious: prescient, foreknowing, foreseeing—obsolete form.

our Estates to come: everlasting bliss or everlasting woe.

a definitive blast of his Will. *Blast* is a blowing of wind, or of breath; breath. The whole phrase here seems to mean a decisive utterance of the divine will. See Exodus xv. 8: "With the blast of thy nostrils the waters were gathered together"; and compare 2 Samuel xxii. 16; and Job iv. 9.

reprobates: those rejected by God, those lost in sin.

in Abraham's bosome: in the abode of the blessed dead: see Luke xvi. 22. The phrase became very popular. It is found in Augustine's *Confessions*, in Shakespeare (in one passage transformed into "Arthur's bosom," *Henry V*, II. iii. 10), Wordsworth, and others.

St. Peter speaks modestly: in his Second Epistle iii. 8. *Modestly* means without exaggeration, moderately—a sense now obsolete.

instances: instants, moments—obsolete usage.

Flux: flow, lapse, constant succession. See pp. 20, 100.

Section 12.

more difficulty: that is, than eternity.

priority. Though, by way of relation, we speak of Father and Son, one was not pre-existent to the other.

Aristotle: in his *De Cælo*, I. x. 279b. See p. 50. Aristotle held the world, or matter, to be without beginning and without end.

Page 15.

make good two Eternities: prove, as Keck says, that God and the world both were eternal.

his similitude of a Triangle: in *De Anima*, II. iii. 414 B, where we find: *ἀεὶ γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἑφεξῆς ὑπάρχει δυνάμει τὸ πρότερον ἐπί τε τῶν σχημάτων καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐμψύχων, οἷον ἐν τετραγώνῳ μὲν τρίγωνον, ἐν αἰσθητικῷ δὲ τὸ θρεπτικόν.* The same allusion with Aristotle's words latinised occurs in a passage (quoted in *O.E.D.*) from Howell's *Letters, circa* 1645: "The Embryo is animated with three Souls;...and these three in man are like *Trigonus in Tetragono.*"

three distinct Souls. Plato gave man three souls—an immortal rational soul in the cranium, with two mortal souls: one in the breast, near the heart, the seat of courage, energy, etc.; the other below the diaphragm, to which belong appetite, desires, etc. Aristotle regarded man's soul as one but as having a triple form. It involves the nutritive soul, which it shares with plants and animals; the sentient soul, which it shares with animals only; and the noëtic or intelligent soul, which man alone possesses. These are by some distinguished as vegetal or vegetative; animal; and rational or reasonable. See p. 56.

differing faculties. Does Browne mean feeling, will, and thought?

inform: impart life to, animate, inspire. So pp. 47, 50, 108. Compare Cowley, *Death of Mr William Harvey*:

> "Large was his soul; as large a soul as e'er
> Submitted to inform a body here";

and Dryden, *Absalom and Achitophel*, 156 *sqq.*:

"A fiery soul, which working out its way
Fretted the pigmy body to decay
And o'er-informed the tenement of clay."

petty: miniature. The 1642 (unauthorised) editions and one of the manuscripts read *pretty*.

comprehended: included. So p. 106.

Pythagoras: of Samos, in the sixth century B.C., after travelling in Egypt and elsewhere, went to Crotona in Italy, where disciples gathered round him. These were initiated into certain mysteries: "everything is not to be told to everybody," was a Pythagorean maxim. Their life was studious and ascetic. Mathematics played a great part in the Pythagorean philosophy. The origin of the universe was traced to number. Number symbolised all sides of life. Five represented marriage, the essence of justice was a square number. The Jewish cabalists also found sacredness in numbers, e.g. three, seven and ten; and based an interpretation of the Bible on the signification of numbers. See Browne himself on the quincunx, *The Garden of Cyrus*, especially Chapter v.

Beware of Philosophy. Compare *Pseud. Epidem.* I. 4: "By this, also, many Christians have condemned literature, misunderstanding the counsel of Saint Paul, who adviseth no further than to beware of philosophy"; and *ibid.* IV. 13: "Because the apostle bids us beware of philosophy, heads of extremity will have none at all." The reference is to Colossians ii. 8: "Beware lest any man spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit, after the tradition of men, after the rudiments of the world, and not after Christ"; where the apostle means false teachers with their pretensions to wisdom.

Scales and Roundles: are here synonymous = rounds or rungs. In both words this meaning is now obsolete.

the severe Schools. See p. 10.

Hermes: Trismegistus. See p. 12.

Pourtraict. See p. 87.

are not: do not exist.

equivocal: equal in name but not in reality—obsolete usage.

counterfeit: imitate (with no implication of deceiving).

some real substance: i.e. like Plato's "idea," of which this world is an imperfect copy.

Section 13.

recreate. See p. 13.

Page 16.

for the contemplation. The contemplation of this alone makes me never regret that I was bred to a studious life.

repent me. This reflexive use is now archaic.

the vulgar: the common mass of mankind. See pp. 4, 6, 25, 96, 101.

beauteous: now chiefly a poetic word.

Solomon pleased God: 1 Kings iii. 9–11.

knows...knoweth. See Introduction.

that he made not: that that he made not. It is often hard to say (nor does it matter for the meaning) whether the single *that* is demonstrative or relative. Probably here it is relative. Then the modern form would be "in comprehending what he made not." But the *that* might be demonstrative, and the modern equivalent of the phrase would be "in comprehending the thing he made not." On page 28, *that* in "saw but that in his time" is demonstrative. See also pp. 52, 92, 111, 113.

the Devil...at Delphos. The maxim "Know thyself" was inscribed on the temple wall at Delphi, the seat of the famous oracle of Apollo. Browne regarded the Devil as the source of the ancient oracles. See p. 64; and *Pseud. Epidem.* I. 3; *ibid.* 10; VII. 12. Browne regularly employs the form *Delphos*. It occurs also in Shakespeare (*The Winter's Tale*, II. i. 183); Milton (*Nativity Ode*, 178; *Paradise Regained*, I. 458); Burton (*Anatomy of Melancholy*, I. ii. 1); Swift (*A Tale of a Tub*); and Addison (*The Spectator*, No. 31).

asquint. See p. 4.

reflex: reflection, reflected image. See p. 112. A different meaning of the word occurs on p. 8.

Moses Eye. In Deuteronomy xxxiv. 7 we read: "And Moses was an hundred and twenty years old when he died: his eye was not dim, nor his natural force abated." But Browne had in his mind the incident related in Exodus xxxiii. 18–23. Moses asked to see the glory of God.

"And he [God] said, Thou canst not see my face: for there shall no man see me, and live.

And the Lord said, Behold, there is a place by me, and thou shalt stand upon a rock:

And it shall come to pass, while my glory passeth by, that I will put thee in a clift of the rock, and will cover thee with my hand while I pass by:

And I will take away mine hand, and thou shalt see my back parts: but my face shall not be seen."

The last verse explains Browne's phrase "the back-parts or lower side of his Divinity." See p. 70. *Moses Eye* is the reading of all Browne's own editions. The two unauthorised editions of 1642 have *Moses his*. The first edition after Browne's death, that of 1685, has *Moses's*. These three forms show the vagaries of the genitive in the seventeenth century. See Introduction.

maze of his Counsels: unsearchable intricacy.

Senators: counsellors—used for the antithesis, of sound as well as of sense, to *Servants*.

fraught: stored, equipped.

Idea's. For this form of the plural, see Introduction.

Page 17.

election: choosing the best of several plans.

speculations: considerations, studies—now a rare usage, if not obsolete. See p. 18.

expressions: outward marks, mentioned in the end of Section 12.

to profound: to go deeply into, to sound, to fathom. See pp. 18, 77. The present-day construction would be "no danger in profounding."

no sanctum sanctorum: no holy of holies which we are forbidden to enter.

Debt of our Reason: for our gift of reason. We are indebted to God for our reason. We best pay him by studying the world.

admire: wonder at, marvel at—archaic usage.

to ransome truth: to rescue truth from the depths. Compare *Christian Morals*, II. 5: "to behold this Exantlation of Truth, or that obscured Virgin half out of the Pit"; and *Pseud. Epidem.* I. 5: "For questionless, in knowledge there is no slender difficulty; and truth, which wise men say doth lie in a well, is not recoverable by exantlation." Cicero and Diogenes Laërtius attribute the original of the saying to Democritus. See Butler, *Hudibras*, II. iii. 659 *sqq*.

Rally: collect and bring into order again.

damn'd Meteors: evil spirits of the air. For long it was a current belief that spirits, especially evil spirits, inhabited the air. They are called meteors either since the word *meteor* comes ultimately from the Greek μετέωρος, off the ground, in the air; or because these spirits being regarded as fallen angels may be taken as meteors, i.e. falling, shooting stars (see p. 10).

confound: destroy, ruin—obsolete or archaic. See p. 13.

Page 18.

that industrious Flie: the bee. In earlier English fly designated any winged insect, as gnat, bee, locust, and others.

abrupts: breaks off, severs—obsolete form. *O.E.D.* has only three instances, all from Browne.

retribute unto: pay back to, make a return or requital to.

not he that saith: an adaptation of Matthew vii. 21: "Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven; but he that doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven."

our wills must be our performances: as we speak of taking the will for the deed.

intents: intentions, wills, inclinations.

make out: supply what is lacking, eke out—obsolete sense.

shall find anxiety: contrary to what is declared in Job iii. 17: "there the weary be at rest"; and in Revelation xiv. 13: "Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord from henceforth: Yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labours; and their works do follow them."

Section 14.

There is but one first cause: that is, God. Manichæism, on the contrary, assumed two chief principles, totally antagonistic—the Light, the Good, God; and the Darkness, the Bad, Matter, or Archon.

four second causes: (1) efficient, or moving; (2) material, what a thing is made of; (3) formal, the notion or pattern that makes it what it is; and (4) final, the end for which it exists.

Essence: being, as frequently.

sundry: separate, distinct—obsolete usage.

predestinated. See p. 67.

Treasure: treasury. See p. 89.

affections: conditions. So p. 49.

speculation: contemplation, consideration, study. So p. 17.

profound: penetrate deeply, dive. See p. 17.

Page 19.

Galen his: Galen's. See Introduction. Galen (*c.* 130—*c.* 200 A.D.), the famous Greek physician, born at Pergamum but long resident in Rome. He wrote much on different branches of his profession and his works were authorities for centuries after his death, among Greeks, and Arabians, and in Western Europe. Chaucer's "Doctour of Phisyk" knew him

well (*Prologue*, 431). His *De Usu Partium Corporis humani*, the "Divinity" of which Browne praises, is, says J. F. Payne (*A Companion to Latin Studies*, p. 721), "a description of the human body designed especially to show the adaptation of the different parts to their functions, and thus to display the wisdom and goodness of the Creator. It is essentially teleological in aim, and might almost be described as a treatise on Natural Theology." See note to "reduced the very Heathens," p. 52.

Suarez: genitive case. See Introduction. Francisco Suarez (1548–1617), a Spaniard of Granada, was a renowned philosopher and theologian of the Roman Catholic Church.

curious: solicitous to be correct, diligently searching into this, i.e. the final, cause—obsolete meaning.

absolute: finished, perfect; as on p. 70.

Section 15.

Natura nihil agit frustra: Nature does nothing without reason. The Latin is a translation either of Galen's saying, *De Usu Partium*, *μάτην μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἡ φύσις ἐργάζεται*; or of Aristotle, *Politics*, I. ii. 10, *οὐδὲν γάρ, ὡς φαμέν, μάτην ἡ φύσις ποιεῖ*. The 1682 edition, instead of *agit*, has *aget*, which seems a slip.

indisputed: undisputed, unquestioned—obsolete form. It occurs in Burke, *Letter to the Sheriffs*: "The king's negative to bills is one of the most indisputed of the royal prerogatives."

Grotesques: figures in the grotesque style, i.e. where animal forms are fantastically combined with foliage and flowers; and, popularly, figures characterised by comic distortion or exaggeration.

Cantons: stretches of ground.

Solomon chose. Proverbs vi. 6 *sqq.*:

"Go to the ant, thou sluggard; consider her ways, and be wise:

Which having no guide, overseer, or ruler,

Provideth her meat in the summer, and gathereth her food in the harvest."

And *ibid.* xxx. 25, 28:

"The ants are a people not strong, yet they prepare their meat in the summer;...

The spider [lizard, in R.V.] taketh hold with her hands, and is in kings' palaces."

Though the bee is not mentioned in our version of Proverbs vi., commentators point out that the Septuagint adds to verse 8

a passage on the bee, and early Christian fathers often quote the verse with that addition:

"Or go to the bee, and learn how industrious she is, and how splendid the work she doeth; the fruit of whose labours kings and private men take for their health; she is desired by all and held in repute, and, weak in strength though she be, yet honouring wisdom she is promoted to honour."

Whales. Browne himself writes on the spermaceti whale, *Pseud. Epidem.* III. 26; and from his correspondence we discover that the cutting up of a whale stranded on the Norfolk coast excited him very much.

Dromidaries: a seventeenth-century spelling.

Colossus: plural. The usual plurals in English are *Colossi* and *Colossuses*. The original Greek word meant a gigantic statue, especially the famous statue of the sun at Rhodes. Browne uses it here to mean gigantic animals.

Engines: contrivances, machines. Compare Shakespeare's use of *machine* for the human body, *Hamlet*, II. ii. 124.

curious Mathematicks: elaborately wrought, intricate, subtle.

civility: polity, civil organisation and government—obsolete usage. "The civility of the little Citizens" is pictured by Shakespeare, *Henry V*, I. ii. 187 *sqq*. Compare, Lyly, *Euphues and his England*, on the commonwealth of the bees; pp. 262 *sqq*. of Arber's reprint.

Regio-Montanus his Fly. For the genitive, see Introduction. Regiomontanus is the latinised form meaning native of Königsberg, where Johann Müller (1436–1476) was born, the inventor of the fly and the eagle. They are mentioned by Du Bartas, the Huguenot poet, in his *La Semaine de la Création*. Keck quotes Du Bartas; and also Joshua Sylvester's translation, here reproduced:

"Why should I not that wooden Eagle mention?
(A learned German's late admir'd invention)
Which mounting from his fist that framed her,
Flew far to meet an Almain Emperour:
And having met him with her nimble Train,
And weary wings turning about again,
Followed him close unto the Castle gate
Of Noremberg; whom all the shews of state,
Streets hang'd with Arras, arches curious built,
Loud thundring Canons, Columns richly guilt,
Gray-headed Senate, and Youth's gallantise,
Grac'd not so much as onely this device.

Once as this Artist more with mirth than meat,
Feasted some friends that he esteemed great,
From under's hand an Iron Fly flew out,
Which having flown a perfect round about,
With weary wings return'd unto her Master,
And as judicious on his arm she plac'd her."

Page 20.

two Souls. These insects have the sentient soul as well as the nutritive or vegetative, while the cedar, belonging to the plants, has only the nutritive. See p. 15.

Flux and Reflux: flow and ebb. See pp. 14, 100.

conversion: turning—obsolete meaning. So on p. 67.

match and parallel: here synonyms = find an equal. See p. 61.

obvious and neglected: near at hand and therefore neglected.

travel: either painful effort, or journeying.

Cosmography: description of the universe or of the earth, here figuratively applied to man as the microcosm (p. 48).

Africa: was, to Browne and his contemporaries, still the dark continent, from which nothing was too strange to expect. Swift (*On Poetry*) could write:

"So geographers, in Afric maps,
With savage pictures fill their gaps,
And o'er unhabitable downs
Place elephants for want of towns."

It was not till about 1770 that the modern epoch of African exploration began. The ancient belief that Africa abounded with strange monsters appears in what Pliny, *Natural History*, VIII. 16 (17), calls "vulgare Græciæ dictum semper Africam aliquid novi afferre." The saying referred to is: *ἀεὶ Λιβύη φέρει τι καινόν*.

bold and adventurous: where a bold explorer would meet with as wild adventures as in Africa. This use of *adventurous* in the sense of hazardous, perilous, is now obsolete. One instance is in Milton's *Comus*, 79.

Section 16.

two Books: (1) the Bible; (2) the book of nature. Compare Bacon, *Epist.* 6, urging the study, first, of the Scriptures, and then, of God's works and creatures, before written books, which should be regarded simply as commentaries.

from whence. *From* with *whence* is redundant, but was not uncommon both with the relative and the interrogative. Compare James iv. 1: "From whence come wars and fightings among you?"

that universal and publick Manuscript. Compare Drummond's *Sonnet*:

"Of this fair volume which we World do name
If we the sheets and leaves could turn with care,
Of Him who it corrects, and did it frame,
We clear might read the art and wisdom rare:
Find out His power which wildest powers doth tame,
His providence extending everywhere,
His justice which proud rebels doth not spare,
In every page, no period of the same."

expans'd: expanded, spread out—obsolete form.

this was the Scripture: nature.

natural motion: the apparent course of sun from east to west.

supernatural station: standing still—now rare in this sense. This is again referred to (p. 41) as "the supernatural Solstice of the Sun in the days of Joshua." See Joshua x. 12 *sq.*:

"Then spake Joshua to the Lord...and he said in the sight of Israel, Sun, stand thou still upon Gibeon; and thou, Moon, in the valley of Ajalon.

And the sun stood still, and the moon stayed, until the people had avenged themselves upon their enemies....So the sun stood still in the midst of heaven, and hasted not to go down about a whole day."

Hieroglyphicks: emblems, symbols. The strict meaning is figures of objects standing for words, syllables or sounds, as in the ancient Egyptian writing.

disdain to suck Divinity: while the careful eye

"Finds tongues in trees, books in the running brooks,
Sermons in stones, and good in every thing."

Shakespeare, *As You Like It*, II. i. 16 *sq.*

the Schools. See p. 10. In this definition, the Schoolmen were followers of Aristotle.

PAGE 21.

that streight and regular line. With this definition, contrast the definition of fortune, p. 23.

cannot swerve, but by. The 1682 edition, like others, omits *but*. This omission, however, is one of the errata noted in the 1643 edition.

faculty: conferred power, privilege, permission, licence. So p. 85.

perverts: turns another way, diverts—obsolete.

sweetneth: Exodus xv. 25.

the Ark: Genesis vii. and viii.

blast. See p. 14.

like a skilful Geometrician: perhaps an allusion to the saying attributed by Plutarch (*Symposium*, VIII. 2) to Plato, *ἀεὶ γεωμετρεῖν τὸν θεόν*, that God ever works by geometrical methods. Compare *The Garden of Cyrus*, III.: "Nature geometrizeth." *O.E.D.* says that *geometrize* almost always has an allusion to Plato's saying, and quotes De Quincey:

> "Knowing that God geometrizes eternally."

stroak: a spelling of the seventeenth century and the eighteenth.

a right line: a straight line.

whose hand and instrument. See pp. 26, 114.

devolve: to cause to pass to another; here to cause to pass from the rightful possessor.

deformity: ugliness.

Page 22.

which best express. A thing is beautiful if its form is properly adapted to its function.

Visitation: examination, scrutiny; from the use of the word to denote the visit of an appointed person to inspect and exercise supervision. See Genesis i. 31:

"And God saw every thing that he had made, and, behold, it was very good."

Monstrosity: abnormality, deviation from type.

so...as they become. The usual construction with a finite part of the verb after *so*, expressing result, is *that*. But *as* is found, e.g., in Shakespeare, *Love's Labour's Lost*, II. i. 173 *sq.*:

> "But here without you shall be so received
> As you shall deem yourself lodged in my heart."

The same construction occurs, p. 95.

the Chaos: the formless void, the abyss of primordial matter. From the words following, it is clear that Browne had in mind Genesis i. 2: "And the earth was without form, and void; and darkness was upon the face of the deep."

impregnant: impregnated, rendered productive—obsolete usage. In one or two of the early editions we find the more familiar *impregnate.*

a Chaos: a certain amount of formlessness. Since "Art is the perfection of Nature," the world is now less of a chaos and more of a cosmos.

the Art of God. Keck notes that Hobbes in the beginning of his *Leviathan* speaks of Nature as "the art whereby God hath made and governs the world."

Section 17.

This: i.e. the way of nature.

not Prophesie, but Prognostication. Browne contrasts prophecy, the inspired revelation of God's will or purpose, with prognostication, predicting from signs or symptoms.

Ephemerides: the plural of *ephemeris*, and meaning tables of the state of the heavens from day to day, used by astrologers to foretell the future. See p. 103.

Page 23.

single Essences: individual beings. *Individuals* and *single Essences* are here synonymous. See p. 26.

Fortune, that serpentine and crooked line: in contrast to nature, "that streight and regular line," p. 21. Compare *Christian Morals*, I. 25:

"Let not Fortune, which hath no name in Scripture, have any in thy Divinity. Let Providence, not Chance, have the honour of thy acknowledgments, and be thy Œdipus in Contingences. Mark well the Paths and winding Ways thereof; but be not too wise in the Construction, or sudden in the Application. The Hand of Providence writes often by Abbreviatures, Hieroglyphicks or short Characters, which, like the Laconism on the Wall, are not to be made out but by a Hint or Key from that Spirit which indited them."

the History of my life. See p. 106.

hits of chance: pieces of luck, strokes of good luck, lucky hits, fortunate chances.

Bezo las Manos: I kiss hands—a Spanish phrase of farewell, both written and spoken; often abbreviated to B.L.M. The English form was also used as in Kenelm Digby's letter to Browne, March 20, 1642: "I kiss your hand." Wyld (*Modern Colloquial English*, p. 378) cites from Shadwell's *Bury Fair*: "Sir, I kiss your hands."

Gramercy: thank you—archaic word, from Old French *grant merci* (God give you) great reward.

the Ram in the thicket: Genesis xxii. 13.

humane: human. So pp. 30, 49. The separation of *human* and *humane* with distinct meanings began early in the eighteenth century.

Moses in the Ark: Exodus ii. 3 *sqq*.

the story of Joseph: Genesis xxxvii. *sqq*.

a Stoick: one who is hard, unemotional, austere, one who would suppress his emotions. See p. 29.

rubs, doublings, and wrenches: difficulties, reverses, and twists.

pass...under the effects: are currently regarded as effects.

the meer hand: the hand and nothing else.

dumb chance: stupid, senseless.

Fougade: a small mine in the form of a covered well sunk from the surface, and charged with explosives.

Powder-plot: the Gunpowder Plot of 1605.

a miscarriage in the Letter. The letter did not miscarry in the usual sense. But one of the conspirators, Francis Tresham, "determined to save his kinsman, Lord Monteagle, from the general destruction, and wrote him a letter warning him to be absent from the opening of parliament, 'which shall receive a terrible blow, and yet they shall not see who hurts them.' Monteagle carried the letter to Cecil, who had recently been created Earl of Salisbury [It thus might be said to have *miscarried*]....Salisbury and the king smelt gunpowder. On the night of 4th November, the eve of the assembling of parliament, the cellars were searched; Guy Fawkes was found at his post among the barrels of gunpowder." Another explanation of the phrase is "a miscarriage of the plot in connexion with, or by means of, the letter.

the Victory of 88.: 1588, over the Spanish Armada.

the tempests...Winds. See Histories for details of the struggle. Compare *The Spectator*, No. 293: "I am very well pleased with a medal which was struck by Queen Elizabeth, a little after the defeat of the invincible armada, to perpetuate the memory of that extraordinary event. It is well known how the King of Spain, and others who were the enemies of that great princess, to derogate from her glory, ascribed the ruin of their fleet rather to the violence of storms and tempests, than to the bravery of the English. Queen Elizabeth, instead of looking upon this as a diminution of her honour, valued herself upon such a signal favour of Providence, and accordingly,

in the reverse of the medal above-mentioned, has represented a fleet beaten by a tempest, and falling foul upon one another, with that religious inscription, *Afflavit Deus, et dissipantur*, 'He blew with his wind, and they were scattered.'" King (*Classical and Foreign Quotations*) casts doubt upon this Elizabethan medal, and says the actual medal was struck by the Dutch, with the legend *Flavit Jehovah* [in Hebrew] *et dissipati sunt* 1588. But thanks to English shipbuilding, English seamanship, English naval tactics, English gunnery, the Armada was crushed before winds and waves intervened.

Armado: early and erroneous form of *armada*, now obsolete. Milton uses it in 1641, *Of Reformation in England*.

Page 24.

the writing upon the wall: at Belshazzar's great feast, as narrated in Daniel v., where verse 5 says: "In the same hour came forth fingers of a man's hand, and wrote over against the candlestick upon the plaister of the wall of the king's palace: and the king saw the part of the hand that wrote." For another reference to this incident, see the extract from *Christian Morals* in note to "Fortune," etc., p. 23.

that petty Province of Holland: the Dutch Netherlands. Though we call the whole country Holland, that is properly the name of only one of the provinces which united in rebellion against the domination of Spain in the sixteenth century. In the seventeenth century Holland became one of the Great Powers of Europe. About the time when Browne was writing, the Dutch had beaten the English in commerce and had a monopoly of the carrying trade of the world. See Histories, and, especially for the struggle with Spain, Motley's *Rise of the Dutch Republic*.

the Grand Seignour: the Sultan of Turkey. So on p. 58. This title is now archaic.

disposeth. Though *dispenseth*, the reading of three of the manuscripts, may seem better than *disposeth*, it is unnecessary to depart from the reading of the early editions. *Dispose* is found in the sense of deal out, dispense, distribute, from the fifteenth century to the nineteenth; and Browne is not averse to such a jingle as *hath disposed, disposeth*. See Introduction.

pre-ordinate: fore-ordained, predestined.

a revolution and vicissitude: a whirling round and alternation. Compare *Christian Morals*, III. 16: "When all looks fair about, and thou seest not a cloud so big as a hand to threaten thee, forget not the Wheel of things: think of sullen vicissitudes, but beat not thy brains to fore-know them."

Intelligences: celestial beings—a use of the word found in Spenser, Drummond of Hawthornden, Milton and others.

Vertical points. *Vertical point* is here synonymous with *zenith*. In Browne's days it was frequently used in the figurative sense of culminating point, point of greatest perfection; but this usage is now obsolete. Compare Drummond, *History of James III*: "This family seemed now in the zenith and vertical point of its greatness."

a Helix: anything of a spiral or coiled form, like a watch-spring, or a corkscrew.

arriving to. *To* is now obsolete with *arrive*.

Section 18.

in a relative way: fortune being no absolute cause but merely secondary or instrumental, just as we speak of the works of nature, though nature is God's servant.

mans: genitive. See Introduction.

Page 25.

Tables: backgammon. This name for the game fell into disuse in the eighteenth century.

sortilegies: acts of divination by casting or drawing lots, or otherwise.

paint her blind: as Fluellen says (Shakespeare, *Henry V*, III. vi. 32 *sqq.*): "By your patience, Aunchient Pistol, Fortune is painted blind, with a muffler afore her eyes, to signify to you that Fortune is blind."

hoodwink: blindfold.

That fools only. Compare Gay, *Fables*, Part II, 12:

> "'Tis a gross error, held in schools,
> That Fortune always favours fools."

See also Shakespeare, *As You Like It*, II. vii. 19.

opprobrious Epithets: as in Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, II. ii. 515, and *King John*, III. i. 61. Less opprobrious is W. M. Praed's

> "Dame Fortune is a fickle gipsy,
> And always blind, and often tipsy."

singular gifts: extraordinary, uncommon, rare. Compare "a man of singular parts," p. 29.

thuroughly. See p. 47.

higher donatives: just termed "singular gifts" and immediately below "goods of mind."

vulgar: ordinary, common. The "vulgar parts of felicity"

are Fortune's gifts, which below are styled "complemental and circumstantial pieces of felicity," i.e. accessory and incidental, both epithets suggesting what is non-essential.

PAGE 26.

pieces out: ekes out, completes.

access. If this is the true reading, the sense is addition, accession. The other reading is *excess*, which gives a better antithesis to *defect*. See p. 4.

envy the Horns. Compare John Lyly, *Euphues and his Ephœbus*:

"It was pretely sayde of Hesiodus, lette vs endeauour by reason to excell beastes, seeinge beastes by nature excell men; although, stricktly taken, it be not so (for that man is endewed with a soule) yet taken touching their perfection of sences in their kind, it is most certeine. Doth not the Lyon for strength, the Turtle for loue, the Ante for labour, excell man? Doth not the Eagle see cleerer, the Vultur smel better, the Mowle heare lyghtlyer? Let vs therefore endeauour to excell in vertue, seeing in qualities of the body we are inferiour to beastes."

Judicial Astrology: assumes to foretell the fate and acts of nations and individuals, while natural astrology is concerned with the prediction of events in inanimate nature.

if to be born. See Browne on his own nativity, p. 108.

I do not owe a Knee: I am not in duty bound to pray.

my indifferent and uncertain nativity: my horoscope (suggests Greenhill) evenly balanced and undetermined.

benevolous: of kindly influence, auspicious—obsolete word.

Aspects. See pp. 8, 103.

persisted: halted, stood still, stopped short—obsolete meaning. Browne is the only authority in *O.E.D.* for this usage.

a Temple to Fortune. Fortune was adored by other peoples besides the Romans. Her worship was widespread in Italy. Præneste, for example, and Antium had famous shrines, where *sortes* could be cast to discover future events. Rome itself contained more than one temple to Fortune.

supputation: estimation, reckoning—now obsolete.

Homer's Chain: described (*Iliad*, VIII. 18 *sqq*.) as reaching from heaven to earth. By it the gods and goddesses could not drag Jupiter down to earth, but he could pull them up along with the earth and the sea. Later writers gave various alle-

gorical interpretations to this idea. One of the most familiar allusions to us is Tennyson's in *Morte D'Arthur*, 254 *sq.*:

"For so [by prayer] the whole round earth is every way
Bound by gold chains about the feet of God."

See Verity's collection of parallels in note to Milton, *Paradise Lost*, II. 1051. To these may be added Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, III. ii. 1, 2: "And this [Love] is that Homer's golden chain, which reacheth down from heaven to earth, by which every creature is annexed, and depends on his Creator"; and Jeremy Taylor's "Faith is the golden chain to link the penitent sinner unto God."

christen: name, call by the name of—colloquial.

most sensible: most readily perceptible.

concourse: concurrence in action or causation; a special theological use of the word in reference to divine concurrence in human action. So pp. 30, 106. This usage is now obsolete. In strict grammar *it* after *doth* is unnecessary, but such insertion of a pronoun is frequently found marking the subject when, as here, some clause intervenes between the subject and the predicate.

singular Essence: separate being, single individual—obsolete usage.

SECTION 19.

construction: interpretation. *Bad construction* and *perverse comment* are here practically synonymous.

these pair. Note that *pair* is construed as plural, equivalent to *two*. The "second Causes" are Nature and Fortune.

visible hands. See p. 21.

PAGE 27.

Advisoes: advices, counsels—obsolete word.

Affection: passion, emotion, feeling.

Competitors: rivals, viz. faith, reason, passion.

Common-wealth: the soul. Compare Shakespeare, *Julius Cæsar*, II. i. 67 *sqq.*:

"...and the state of man
Like to a little kingdom, suffers then
The nature of an insurrection."

See also *Macbeth*, I. iii. 140; and *Henry V*, I. ii. 184.

that other: the second triumvirate, the coalition of Antony, Octavian (Augustus), and Lepidus in 43 B.C. See Histories.

Theorems: general statements not self-evident (as axioms are) but demonstrable by argument. Here they are distin-

guished from "Propositions of Faith," i.e. definite statements of belief to be accepted without proof.

both unto Reason. This is the reading of all the early editions; but we should expect "both [viz. reason and passion] unto faith." Several modern editions adopt this change. Compare p. 97.

sturdy doubts: intractable, refractory, stubborn.

boisterous: stiff, unyielding—obsolete meaning; or fierce, savage, turbulent.

on my Knees: in prayer.

naturality: naturalness, something in accordance with nature—obsolete meaning.

Archidoxis...Sympathies. Archidoxis was written by Theophrastus Bombastus von Hohenheim (1490 (?)–1541), who called himself Paracelsus. Son of a Swiss physician, he became himself a physician, lectured on medicine, and wrote numerous books. He was an observer of nature, an innovator in medicine, an alchemist, a mystic, with a touch of the charlatan. *Archidoxis* contains magical and sympathetic cures for diseases. Compare *Letter to a Friend*, VI.: "Amulets, Spells, Sigils, and Incantations, practised in other Diseases, are seldom pretended in this; and we find no Sigil in the *Archidoxis* of Paracelsus to cure an extreme Consumption or Marasmus." Browne frequently refers to Paracelsus or his ideas. See pp. 44, 51, 60; and *Pseud. Epidem.* I. 7; II. 1; III. 12. Browning's *Paracelsus* may be consulted.

Browne is evidently alluding also to Sir Kenelm Digby, who had a sympathetic powder or ointment of honour. His method, after cleansing and binding up a wound, was to apply the remedy to the weapon that had caused the wound. See *Pseud. Epidem.* II. 3; V. 24. Scott in his *Lay of the Last Minstrel* (III. xxiii) makes the Lady follow this plan in treating Deloraine's wound.

"She drew the splinter from the wound,
And with a charm she stanch'd the blood;
She bade the gash be cleansed and bound:
No longer by his couch she stood;
But she has ta'en the broken lance,
And wash'd it from the clotted gore,
And salved the splinter o'er and o'er....
Then to her maidens she did say,
That he should be whole man and sound,
Within the course of a night and day."

Scott refers in his notes to Digby's powder. Compare Butler, *Hudibras*, I. ii. 223 *sqq.*:

"Learned he was in med'c'nal lore,
For by his side a pouch he wore,
Replete with strange hermetic powder,
That wounds nine miles point-blank would solder";

and II. iii. 287 *sqq.*:

"Cure warts and corns, with application
Of med'cines to th' imagination;...
And fire a mine in China, here,
With sympathetic gunpowder."

the Brazen Serpent: Numbers xxi. 8 *sqq.*

Page 28.

conceit: imagine. So pp. 73, 100.

Ægyptian. For spelling see *Ænigma's*, p. 11.

Elias: Elijah. For the miracle, see 1 Kings xviii. 7 *sqq.*

Sodom...Gomorrah. See Genesis xix. 24 *sqq.*

Calabria: in south-west Italy. Calabrian manna is a different substance from the manna of the Israelites (Exodus xvi. 14 *sqq.*, Numbers xi. 6 *sqq.*), which has been identified with the juice of a tamarisk found in the Arabian peninsula.

Josephus: the Jewish historian of the first century A.D. The reference is to *The Antiquities of the Jews*, III. i. 6.

quære: query, question. *Quære* is the imperative of Latin *quærere*, to ask, used as a noun. So p. 64.

that in his time, the Natives. Supply the relative *that* (or *which*) after *time*.

Pawn...Queen: the weakest piece in chess...the strongest. Editors cite as a parallel the etching by Retzsch (1779–1857) of the Chessplayers—Man and Satan.

Section 20.

any: such thing as atheism.

probably: in a way that appears well-grounded, in a way that approves itself to reason. See *probable*, p. 32.

Page 29.

Epicurus: the well-known Greek philosopher of the fourth and the third century B.C. One part of his philosophy was to free men from fear of the displeasure of the gods. He therefore explained the physical universe in a manner entirely mechanical. "Gods, on this theory, become superfluous from a cosmological point of view, but Epicurus is no atheist; he

accepts as well-founded the common belief that these blessed and immortal beings exist, and even holds that phantasms of them are from time to time presented to men in dreams and waking visions; but there is, he holds, no reason to be afraid of their wrath and vengeance. 'The blessed and incorruptible has no troubles of its own, and causes none to others; it is not subject to either anger or favour.'" Henry Sidgwick, *History of Ethics*, pp. 85 *sq.* Compare Lucretius, *De Rerum Natura*, III. 18 *sqq.*, V. 76 *sqq.*; Tennyson, *The Lotos-eaters*, 155 *sqq.*

high strained conceit: hyperbolical idea.

That fatal necessity: that inevitableness ordained by fate. Compare Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, I. XX. 55, "Hinc vobis extitit primum illa fatalis necessitas, quam *εἱμαρμένην* dicitis, ut quicquid accidat, id ex æterna veritate causarumque continuatione fluxisse dicatis."

miscreant: infidel, heretical; or depraved, base. The book referred to, *De Tribus Impostoribus*, is of unknown authorship. Keck and Kenelm Digby assume the writer to be Bernardinus Ochinus, but that view has no basis. It has also been ascribed to Arnoldus de Villa Nova. The three impostors of the book are Christ, Moses and Mahomet.

Machiavel: Niccolo di Bernardo dei Machiavelli (1469–1527), of an ancient Florentine family, author of the world-famed *De Principatibus*, or *Del Principe*, which discusses how principalities are to be governed and maintained. Machiavelli's name soon became intensely hated, his teaching being denounced as well-nigh diabolical. Towards the close of the eighteenth century a change began, and his position of pre-eminence in political science became certain. See works on Machiavelli by Ranke and Villari; and Macaulay's *Essay*.

Lucian: a delightful writer of Greek, of the second century A.D., who was by birth a Semite of Syria. In the decay of the old faiths and the old philosophies, he had abundant material for satire. In his *Dialogues of the Gods*, *Dialogues of the Dead*, *Charon*, and other writings, he shows the absurdity of retaining the ancient gods with the old belief in them.

Rhetorick: persuasive appeal to the emotions. See p. 6.

prejudicate: preconceived—obsolete word. In the next paragraph, "discreet belief" contrasts with "loose or prejudicate belief."

SECTION 21.

motives: movers, instigators—obsolete meaning.

Galen. See p. 19.

singular parts: outstanding abilities.

plunged and gravelled: overwhelmed, embarrassed and perplexed, nonplussed. Compare Shakespeare, *As You Like It*, IV. i. 76:

"...when you were gravelled for lack of matter...."

PAGE 30.

three lines of Seneca: *Troades*, 379 *sqq.*:

"An toti morimur, nullaque pars manet
Nostri? ...
Post mortem nihil est, ipsaque mors nihil...
Mors individua est noxia corpori,
Nec parcens animæ."

Do we entirely die, and does no part of us remain?...After death nothing exists, death itself is nothing...Impartial death is hurtful to the body and spares not the soul.

Browne's note quotes the passage in a slightly different form. The opening question is changed to a statement and comes last, while *patiens* takes the place of *parcens*. L. Annæus Seneca (*c.* 4 B.C.–65 A.D.), a Spaniard of Corduba, wrote also moral essays. He was Nero's tutor and for a time took part in the administration of affairs. Nero forced him to commit suicide. See p. 66.

a set of Heads. See p. 4.

relations of Mariners: sailors' stories. Travellers' tales and sailors' yarns are proverbially exaggerated and ornamented. The generation before Browne heard many of these tales from the Elizabethan explorers and sailors. See, for example, Shakespeare, *The Tempest*, III. iii. 21 *sqq.*

question the Testimonies: call in question.

Ælian or Pliny. In *Pseud. Epidem.* I. 8, Browne classes Pliny and Ælian among "authors who have most promoted popular conceit," and says, "their accounts are not to be swallowed at large, or entertained without all circumspection." Pliny the Elder, of Verona, was born about 23 A.D. and perished in the eruption of Vesuvius in 79. Of his works *Naturalis Historia* alone is extant. It was exceedingly popular in the Middle Ages and was accepted without question. Browne often refers to him, and in *Pseud. Epidem. ibid.* remarks: "Now what is very strange, there is scarce a popular error passant in our days, which is not either directly expressed, or deductively contained in this work; which, being in the hands of most men, hath proved a powerful occasion of their propagation."

Ælian of Præneste, *c.* 120 A.D., was the author of *Varia Historia*, and of *De Animalium Natura*, "Wherein," says Browne, *ibid.* "are contained many things suspicious, not a few false, some impossible; he is much beholding unto Ctesias, and in many uncertainties writes more confidently than Pliny."

humane: human, profane (i.e. not scriptural, not sacred). See pp. 23, 41, 49.

Garagantua: an incorrect spelling, common in the seventeenth century, of Gargantua, the popular giant of Touraine, whose wonderful story François Rabelais embellished in his book *The Great and Inestimable Chronicles of the Grand and Enormous Giant Gargantua.* He made hills of the mud scraped from his shoes, and he set up the dolmen at Poitiers. But it was his mouth (Shakespeare, *As you Like It*, III. ii. 238) that was his most astounding organ. Once he gobbled up, in a salad, six pilgrims with their staves. On another occasion, drinking at a ford, he gulped down a loaded cart, its driver and six bullocks. On a third, he swallowed a ship with its cargo of gunpowder.

Bevis: of Hampton, the hero of the popular mediæval English romance. His father was murdered and he himself was despatched by his false mother to be a slave among the heathen. He became a great fighter, overthrew Brademond of Damascus, a monstrous boar, the giant Ascapart (saved alive to be his squire), and a dreadful dragon. His horse Arundel and his sword Morglay are celebrated in the poem. Bevis had many other adventures. His last great fight was in London, when he slew sixty thousand of the inhabitants and compelled King Edgar to come to terms. Bevis and Ascapart are the guardians of Southampton.

fabulous conceits: fabled (mythical, legendary) inventions, or imaginations.

that deserves to carry the Buckler: worthy to be remotely compared with, fit to hold a candle to.

concourse. See pp. 26, 106.

antinomies: conflicts of principles or laws.

shew. This form of the verb, now obsolete except in legal documents, is frequent down to 1800 and not uncommon in the early nineteenth century. It represents an old pronunciation, which to about 1700 rhymes with *view*, *dew*. See Milton, *Il Penseroso*, 171 *sq.*:

> "Of every star that Heaven doth shew,
> And every herb that sips the dew."

questioned: propounded for enquiry—obsolete usage.

as I know: as far as I know.

Atoms: minutiæ, trifles. Perhaps there is an allusion to atoms, motes in a sunbeam, since *air* precedes.

the Pigeon: Genesis viii. 8–12.

question: doubt.

Lazarus: John xi.

PAGE **31.**

Plea or Title: claim or right.

Eve: Genesis ii. 21 *sq*. There were two traditions: one, that the rib was taken from the left side as nearer the heart; the other, that Adam had thirteen ribs on the left side and that Eve was made out of the "supernumerary," as Milton terms it. See *Paradise Lost*, VIII. 465 *sqq*.; X. 884 *sqq*.; and *Pseud. Epidem*. VII. 2.

which is the right side. See *Pseud. Epidem*. IV. 5, for a discussion on this.

edified: builded, framed. A.V. (Genesis ii. 22) translates: "And the rib...made he a woman." Literally the Hebrew is "builded he into," which the Septuagint follows precisely with ὠκοδόμησεν, the Vulgate with *ædificavit*, and Luther with *bauete*. Compare Wyclif's translation: "And the Lord God edified the rib, the whiche he toke of Adam, into a woman."

Rabbins: Jewish doctors of the law—here perhaps in reference to the mediæval authorities on Jewish law and doctrine. See p. 43.

the Letter of the Text: Genesis i. 27. Browne discusses the problem, *Pseud. Epidem*. III. 17.

in Autumn. See *Pseud. Epidem*. VI. 2.

curiosities: curious questions, subtleties—obsolete usage.

supposed: admitted, undeniable—obsolete usage.

our vacant hours: leisure hours, *Horæ Subsecivæ*, what Browne calls "leisurable hours," in his address "To the Reader" of *Religio Medici*.

Pantagruel's Library: the fictitious library with its catalogue of ridiculous books in *Pantagruel* by Rabelais (see p. 30). Pantagruel was Gargantua's son. Browne himself drew up a similar catalogue: "Musæum Clausum, or Bibliotheca Abscondita; containing some remarkable books, antiquities, pictures, and rarities of several kinds, scarce or never seen by any man now living," in Bohn's ed. III. 267 *sqq*. Tartaretus was a Doctor of the Sorbonne in Paris, notorious for his refinements on the subtleties of Johannes Duns Scotus. For this reason Rabelais fathered on Tartaretus the imaginary books here mentioned.

Section 22.

niceties: subtleties, with the notion that they are too refined, and therefore trivial.

questioned and called to the Bar: brought forward for investigation, and summoned as before a tribunal. See p. 64.

of an easie and possible: about which the truth can be easily discovered.

Page 32.

put off: dispose of.

drown. The 1682 edition reads *down*, but this seems a blunder. If *put down* is retained, it might have the sense of lower in estimation. Note the play of words in *drown* and *Flood*. The meaning is: confuse Noah's flood, which covered the whole earth, with the inundation of Deucalion, which was only partial. Deucalion and his wife Pyrrha, alone of all Greece, escaped drowning in the nine days' flood. He built a ship, which floated on the waters and at last rested on Mount Parnassus.

particular: partial, not universal—obsolete meaning. So just below.

competency: sufficient supply.

sustenance: victuals—synonymous with *food*.

feasible: practicable, possible. The two "surreptitiously printed" editions of 1642 read *difficult* and two MSS. *difficile*. Browne, however, means "very feasible" when "rightly" examined.

the honest Father: St Augustine, who (writes Keck) delivers his opinion (*De Civitate Dei*, XVI. 7) that it might be miraculously done, but does *not* say it could not happen without a miracle.

planted: settled. See *Pseud. Epidem.* VI. 6.

noxious: hurtful, harmful, dangerous.

this Triple Continent: Europe, Asia and Africa.

Ararat: where the ark rested: Genesis viii. 4.

salve: clear up, account for, overcome a doubt about. See pp. 41, 46, 50, 90, 107.

upon the negative of: since Holy Scriptures deny this.

probable: commendable to reason, worthy of belief—obsolete sense. See *probably*, p. 28.

as well peopled. See *Pseud. Epidem.* VI. 6.

Page 33.

Tenents: tenets, doctrines, dogmas. The form *tenent* was popular in the seventeenth century, but died out early in the

eighteenth. "Etymologically," says *O.E.D.*, "a *tenet* ought to be the opinion of one, what *he holds*, a *tenent* the opinion of a number, what *they hold*; but this distinction, if ever observed in using the words as English, was soon lost."

I would never betray: my reason is free; I am at liberty, employing my reason, to hold a different view.

a Postulate: an unproved assumption. The 1682 edition has *Paradox*, but that appears among the errata of the 1643 edition.

Methusalem: Genesis v. 27.

from the process: from the drift or tenor of the context. This meaning of *process* is now obsolete. Browne intends us to understand that the words of Genesis do not warrant the assumption that Methuselah lived longest. Some unnamed patriarch may have had a longer life. See *Pseud. Epidem.* VI. 6: "For (to omit that conceit of some, that Adam was the oldest man, in as much as he is conceived to be created in the maturity of mankind, that is, at 60...so that adding this number unto his 930, he was 21 years older than any of his posterity) that even Methuselah was the longest liver of all the children of Adam, we need not grant; nor is it definitely set down by Moses. Indeed of those ten mentioned in Scripture, with their several ages it must be true; but whether those seven of the line of Cain and their progeny, or any of the sons or daughters posterity after them out-lived those, is not expressed in holy Scripture; and it will seem more probable, that of the line of Cain some were longer lived than any of Seth; if we concede that seven generations of the one lived as long as nine of the other." So also *ibid.* VII. 3.

Judas. The "one place" is Matthew xxvii. 5, and the "doubtful word" is *ἀπήγξατο*, which may mean choked in his despair, equally well as hanged himself. The "more punctual description" occurs in Acts i. 18. The discrepancy of the two passages still exercises the ingenuity of commentators. Browne discusses it in *Pseud. Epidem.* VII. 11.

punctual: detailed, circumstantial—obsolete meaning. Compare *punctually*, p. 64.

against a second Deluge. See *Pseud. Epidem.* VII. 6.

opinioned: held as an opinion, thought. So p. 71.

another intention. See Genesis xi. 4: "And they said, Go to, let us build us a city and a tower, whose top may reach unto heaven; and let us make us a name, lest we be scattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth."

familiarly concluded: commonly deduced, usually inferred—now obsolete in this sense except with words like *known*.

under favour: with all submission, subject to correction.

I see no consequence: I see no logical conclusion; I do not see that it follows logically. After the word *consequence*, the editions of 1642 and two of the MSS. read: "as, to prove the Trinity from the speech of God [Genesis i. 26], *faciamus hominem*, let us make man, which is but the common style of princes and men of eminency—he that shall read one of his majesty's proclamations, may with the same logick conclude there be two kings in England."

opinion of: belief in the existence of.

Tutelary. See p. 46; and compare: "The learned Gaspar Schottus dedicates his Thaumaturgus Mathematicus unto his tutelary or guardian angel; in which he useth these words: cui post Deum conditorem Deique magnam matrem Mariam omnia debeo. Now, though we must not lose God in good angels, and because they are always supposed about us, hold lesser memory of him in our prayers, addresses, and consideration of his presence, care, and protection over us, yet they which do assert them have both antiquity and Scripture to confirm them; but...whether all men have one, some more, and therefore there must be more angels than ever were men together; whether angels assist successively and distinctly, or whether but once and singly to one person, and so there must be a greater number of them than ever of men or shall be; whether we are under the care of our mother's good angel in the womb, or whether that spirit undertakes us when the stars are thought to concern us, that is, at our nativity, men have a liberty and latitude to opinion." Extracts from Commonplace Books, Bohn, III. 352 *sq*. See also *Christian Morals*, III. 3: "'Tis better to think that there are Guardian Spirits, than that there are no Spirits to guard us." The belief in guardian angels has been widely prevalent in time and space. See, for example, the angels of the Old Testament, the δαίμων of the Greeks, the *genius* of the Romans, the patron saints of later days. Compare Milton, *Comus*, 219, 455; *Paradise Lost*, II. 1033; *Samson Agonistes*, 1431; and Shakespeare, *Richard III*, V. iii. 175; *Hamlet*, I. iv. 39.

'Tis not he, but his Angel: the sense but not the exact words of the passage, Acts xii. 13 *sqq*. When the damsel told that Peter stood at the gate, the family said, "Thou art mad." Then, when she emphatically repeated her statement, they said, "It is his angel." Browne's interpretation of ἄγγελος here does not seem to meet with favour among commentators. The Jews believed that each man had his guardian angel.

Families: genitive singular. See Introduction. The family was the household of John Mark's mother.

answered: replied in an academic discussion. Another academic word is *Opponent*, i.e. one who, in a discussion, proposes objections to a theological thesis.

Page 34.

no more but. So p. 1.

authentick: authoritative—obsolete usage.

Section 23.

could not chuse but say: could not help saying, could not do otherwise than say, should have no alternative but say —archaic usage. So p. 38. Compare Coleridge, *Ancient Mariner*, 18:

"He cannot choose but hear."

Three lines below we have this construction with ellipsis of infinitive after *cannot*.

singularest: most unusual, rarest, most precious.

refrain the Lecture: refrain from the perusal—obsolete construction of verb and obsolete meaning of noun.

Ptolomy: Ptolemæus Philadelphus, king of Egypt from 285 to 247 B.C. Browne refers to the tradition that Ptolemy wished to have a copy of the Hebrew Scriptures in his great library at Alexandria, and in consequence the Greek translation, known as the Septuagint, began to be made. The spelling in all the early editions is *Ptolomy*.

The Alcoran of the Turks: the Koran (or Reading) of the Mohammedans, the whole body of Mohammed's "Revelations," forming the religious, civil, social code of Islam. *Al* is the definite article.

without prejudice: with no premature, hasty judgment. My judgment is well considered. This use of *prejudice* is obsolete.

that hath gotten: i.e. the Koran.

This without a blow: i.e. the Holy Scriptures.

Philo: in his *Life of Moses*, II. 3. Philo Judæus was an Alexandrine Jew, born *circa* 10 B.C. His religious and philosophical views exercised immense influence on both Jews and Christians.

with occasions: as occasions arise; to suit the times. Compare Shakespeare, *King John*, II. i. 82:

"For courage mounteth with occasion."

Original: origin, descent—now archaic usage.

Zoroaster: Zarathushtra, the founder, or the reformer, of the ancient religion of the Parsees. His age is uncertain, but in all likelihood not later than 800 B.C., and probably several centuries earlier.

Mens: genitive plural. See Introduction.

a stint: a limitation—obsolete usage.

This only: the Bible alone.

PAGE 35.

confess their Ashes: make known, reveal their ashes, i.e. show that they are consumed.

SECTION 24.

the lost lines of Cicero. Cicero wrote several poems, with fluency of diction but without poetic imagination. Juvenal's attack on the jingle,

"O fortunatam natam me consule Romam,"

is well known; *Satires*, X. 122, where see Mayor's note. See p. 103.

combustion: burning—a rare usage of the word.

the Library of Alexandria. There were two libraries in Alexandria, the larger of which contained, about 50 B.C., some 700,000 volumes. The smaller comprised over 40,000. Browne is perhaps referring to the story of the burning of books in the seventh century A.D., under the orders of the Caliph Omar, who said, that, if the books agreed with the Koran, they were superfluous and did not require to be preserved; while, if they disagreed, they were hurtful and ought to be destroyed. Traditions existed of other destructions of books, but they are all obscure. See Sandys, *History of Classical Scholarship*, *s.v.*

I think there be. For subjunctive, see Introduction.

the urn...the Vatican: the destruction by fire of the Vatican Library, which, besides printed books, contains a priceless collection of manuscripts.

perished leaves. Solomon's name was attached to Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, and the Wisdom of Solomon (in the Apocrypha); but Browne is here alluding to 1 Kings iv. 32 *sq.*:

"And he spake three thousand proverbs: and his songs were a thousand and five.

And he spake of trees, from the cedar tree that is in Lebanon even unto the hyssop that springeth out of the wall: he spake also of beasts, and of fowl, and of creeping things, and of fishes."

Enoch's Pillars: called, in *The Garden of Cyrus*, II.: "the famous pillars of Seth before the flood." An old tradition said the descendants of Seth, having learned that the world would be destroyed once by water and once by fire, built a pillar of stone against the water and a pillar of brick against the fire. On each of these they engraved all the learning of the time, and so after the Deluge the stone pillar remained for the instruction of mankind. The special mention of Enoch is intelligible, for numerous legends were current about him and especially about his learning. See Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, I. 2.

nearer Authors: nearer their date, earlier.

relish ... of: savour of, have a taste of.

Pineda. Browne's note is "Pineda in his *Monarchia Ecclesiastica* quotes one thousand and forty authors." Juan de Pineda was a learned Spaniard of the sixteenth century.

three great inventions: guns, printing, and the mariner's compass, according to a manuscript cited by Wilkin. Keck thinks the third is clocks, the Latin annotator hesitates between clocks and church-organs. The two inventions "which are not without their incommodities" are printing and guns. Keck quotes a passage from Book VI of Samuel Daniel's *Civil Wars*. Nemesis is represented as grieved at the happiness and peace of western Europe. She accordingly orders the invention of printing and guns:

> "Let there be found two fatal Instruments,
> The one to publish, th'other to defend
> Impious contention, and proud discontents."

Whether or not Germany is entitled to the credit of the three inventions, does not matter in this passage.

Compare Browne's address "To the Reader," prefixed to the first authorised edition of *Religio Medici*:

"Had not almost every man suffered by the Press, or were not the tyranny thereof become universal, I had not wanted reason for complaint: but in times wherein I have lived to behold the highest perversion of that excellent invention, the name of his Majesty defamed, the Honour of Parliament depraved, the Writings of both depravedly, anticipatively, counterfeitly imprinted; complaints may seem ridiculous in private persons; and men of my condition may be as incapable of affronts, as hopeless of their reparations."

incommodities ... commodities: inconveniences ... conveniences, disadvantages...advantages.

Utinam: wish. *Utinam* is a Latin word used to introduce wishes.

solid Authors: sober-minded, sedate, weighty; contrasted with the frivolous writers of "Rhapsodies," extravagant, high-flown outbursts.

abuse: pervert, unsettle.

mystery: craft. So p. 91, "whole professions, mysteries and conditions." The word has no etymological connexion with *mystery*, something hidden, though the two are now identical in spelling. *Mystery*, trade, craft, is in Middle English *mistere*, which comes, through Old French *mestier*, from Latin *ministerium*. Note the humorous turn given to the sentence; and compare *Pseud. Epidem.* I. 8: "Pieces maintaining rather typography than verity."

Section 25.

with what exception. The sentence is somewhat awkward, but the meaning is: "how the Samaritans could except the Pentateuch from their general condemnation of the Old Testament." We hear in the New Testament of the antipathy between Jews and Samaritans as in John iv. 9: "For the Jews have no dealings with the Samaritans." The breach was an old one, and what Browne mentions here is one aspect of it. The Samaritans would accept none of the Jewish Scriptures except the five books of Moses. The explanation of this has been said to be that those books alone were canonical when the Samaritans broke off from the Jews. See *Pseud. Epidem.* VI. I.

Page 36.

Rabbinical. See pp. 31, 43.

Ethnick: Gentile. Numerous examples of devotion to "Ethnick Superstition" and of adopting "the Idolatry of their Neighbours" occur in the Old Testament. See Judges ii. 11 *sqq.*; iii. 7; Ezekiel viii. 13 *sqq.*, and other passages for the worship of Baal, Ashtoreth, Tammuz and the sun. Compare p. 3.

expect impossibilities: the future coming of the Messiah, already come.

for obstinacy. What is called obstinacy in a bad cause is called constancy in a good. Circumstances, like persons, transform a vice into a virtue. Compare Shakespeare, *Measure for Measure*, II. ii. 127 *sqq.*:

"Great men may jest with saints; 'tis wit in them,
But in the less foul profanation...
That in the captain's but a choleric word,
Which in the soldier is flat blasphemy."

the bare term of Prophet: i.e. they surrender the higher name of Jesus the Saviour and content themselves with the lower name of the Prophet Mohammed.

a new expectation: i.e. they become Jews and look for the Messiah as still to come.

one Flock: John x. 16. Browne does not adopt the A.V.: "and there shall be one fold, and one shepherd," but gives the exact translation of the Greek *ποίμνη*. So the R.V.: "and they shall become one flock, one shepherd."

the last day. See p. 64.

four Members of Religion: Christians, Jews, Mohammedans, Pagans.

small to those. *To* here, as frequently, means in comparison with, as compared with. So "no torture to the rack," p. 61; "no reproach to the scandal of a Story," p. 90.

negative Impieties: i.e. of ignorance of Christ. They have not definitely denied the teaching of Christ or refused salvation.

PAGE 37.

For the Turk: as for. So "for the first chapters of Genesis," p. 48.

in the bulk he now stands. The full grammatical structure would be: "in the bulk that he now stands in." The Turks first got a footing in Europe in the thirteenth century; and, especially after 1453, steadily pushed westward for some 200 years. When Browne was writing, they not only dominated the Balkan Peninsula, but also held Hungary, with a Pasha in Buda-Pest. Vienna, too, they threatened. Their possessions in Europe and Asia explain "the bulk."

even to the condemnation. Their patience under persecution causes their persecutors to be condemned.

angry Devotions: devout men maddened by rage. See Introduction.

none can more justly: i.e. than the Christian Church.

precedents: instances, examples, exemplars.

bastard: spurious, not genuine, of inferior quality.

circumstances and requisites: conditions and indispensable marks. Aristotle (*Nicomachean Ethics*, III. vi. *sqq.*) lays down that valour should keep the mean between timidity

and rashness. A man should not needlessly rush into danger: when occasion demands, he must not shun danger. Valour is shown in facing death, particularly where death is noble, and that is chiefly in war.

the name only: nothing but the name, for Alexander the Great was often rash, and so lacked the better part of valour, discretion. To Seneca (*De Beneficiis*, I. iii. 3) Alexander is "vesanus adulescens, cui pro virtute erat felix temeritas." He repeats the phrase, *ibid.* VII. iii. 1. Invited to Macedonia by Philip, Aristotle superintended Alexander's education for several years. Alexander is his "Master" as being his patron.

as little. Julius Cæsar had as little as Alexander of "true and perfect valour," for he also showed rashness.

that easie and active way: valour in war, as contrasted with "the passive and more terrible" way of martyrdom.

PAGE 38. SECTION 26.

Souldiers. For Browne's lofty appreciation of the valorous soldier at his best, see *Christian Morals*, I. 36:

"The Heroical vein of Mankind runs much in the Souldiery, and couragious part of the World; and in that form we oftenest find Men above Men. History is full of the gallantry of that Tribe; and when we read their notable Acts, we easily find what a difference there is between a Life in Plutarch and in Laërtius. Where true Fortitude dwells, Loyalty, Bounty, Friendship, and Fidelity may be found. A man may confide in persons constituted for noble ends, who dare do and suffer, and who have a hand to burn for their Country and their Friend. Small and creeping things are the product of petty Souls. He is like to be mistaken, who makes choice of a covetous Man for a Friend, or relieth upon the Reed of narrow and poltroon Friendship. Pityful things are only to be found in the cottages of such Breasts; but bright thoughts, clear Deeds, Constancy, Fidelity, Bounty, and generous Honesty are the gems of noble Minds; wherein (to derogate from none) the true Heroick English Gentleman hath no Peer."

The Council of Constance. John Huss of Bohemia, when rector of the University of Prague, preached against clerical abuses. This led to a conflict with the Church authorities, 1408, which continued for several years. A general council of the Church had been called to meet at Constance in 1414. To it Huss was summoned with a safe conduct from the Emperor Sigismund. In violation of the safe conduct, Huss

was thrown into prison; and next year he was condemned as a heretic and burned to ashes.

Divinity: theology, theological views.

questionless. See p. 4.

the Unity of God. Several Christian writers held that Socrates suffered on this fundamental point; but the charges brought against him, in 399 B.C., were that he had neglected the gods of the State and introduced new divinities, and that he had corrupted the morals of the young.

the miserable Bishop: Virgilius, Bishop of Salzburg, in the eighth century. The story appears in contradictory forms. But since Browne speaks of the "ignorance and folly" of the bishop's enemies, he evidently knew the version saying that the bishop asserted the existence of the antipodes. That Virgilius lost his bishopric, not his life, is probably what Browne alludes to by "exposed his living." The denial of the antipodes is mentioned in *Pseud. Epidem.* I. 6, 7 and 11. St Boniface (*Epist.* lxvi.) says the bishop maintained the existence of dwellers in the antipodes "in defiance of God and of his own soul."

cannot chuse but accuse. See p. 34.

extant: in existence, living. So p. 54. The word is not usually applied to persons, as here.

respects: respect, regard, esteem. The plural does not seem to be now employed in this sense.

tender: cherish, foster—obsolete or dialectal sense. So p. 41. Compare the use of the word by Shakespeare, *Hamlet,* I. iii. 107: "Tender yourself more dearly"; and *ibid.* IV. iii. 43 *sq.*:

> "Hamlet, this deed, for thine especial safety,
> Which we do tender...."

Politick points: matters of policy, of expedience, not of principle.

indifferency: matter of indifference, a non-essential—obsolete usage. Compare p. 1.

untractible. The modern and regular form ends in *-able.*

bow at their obstacles: submit to their prohibitions. That is, like St Paul, if meat causes any one to offend, Browne himself will abstain (Romans xiv.; I Corinthians viii.).

PAGE 39.

The leaven therefore and ferment: what modifies and tempers.

Wisdom. Burke (*Letter to the Sheriffs*) praises prudence

"constituted as the god of this lower world," and says (*Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs*): "Prudence is not only the first in rank of the virtues, political and moral, but she is the director, the regulator, the standard of them all."

Homicide: here = suicide. See p. 61.

Section 27.

That Miracles are ceased. See Hastings, *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics, s.v.* Lourdes.

define: state exactly. See p. 46.

the Record of Scripture: Acts iii. 6 *sqq.*; viii. 7; ix. 32 *sqq.*, and elsewhere.

at the Conversion of Nations. See the story of any of the great mediæval missionaries, e.g. St Columba and the Picts.

in the Indies: for example, those reported of Francisco Xavier (1506–1552), the Apostle of the Indies, during his labours in the East.

the transmutation of those visible elements: the conversion in the eucharist of the bread and the wine, transubstantiation.

in Cana: John ii.

would have had him done. We should expect "would have had him do." But we find in Shakespeare similar phrases, where Abbot (*Shakespearian Grammar*, § 411) suggests the full form was "have had him to have done" and that *to have* was omitted to avoid awkward repetition. Contrast Shakespeare, *Richard III*, III. v. 56 *sqq.*:

> "Because, my lord, we would have had you heard
> The traitor speak, and timorously confess
> The manner and the purpose of his treason";

with Sidney, *Arcadia*, II.:

> "he would have had me to have led him."

Other instances of *have* omitted in the vicinity of *had* occur in *Coriolanus*, IV. vi. 35; and Burns, *Tam o' Shanter*, 18.

in the Wilderness: Matthew iv. 1–3.

to this: "the transmutation of those visible elements."

Page 40.

narrowly: closely, straitly.

define the Power: set limits to, restrict—obsolete usage.

to our capacities: or to use God's words, Psalms l. 21: "Thou thoughtest that I was altogether such an one as thyself."

should question Esdras: 2 Esdras iv. 5: "And I [Esdras] said, Tell on, my lord. Then said he unto me, Go thy way, weigh me the weight of the fire, or measure me the blast of the wind, or call me again the day that is past." *Question* is not merely to put a question to but to defy, to challenge, Esdras to answer.

pose: puzzle. See p. 11.

mannerliest proposition: most seemly, most reverential statement. See Introduction.

Section 28.

question: be doubtful about, call in question.

habits: garments. This is the commonest meaning in Shakespeare (as in *Hamlet*, I. iii. 70) but is now archaic.

appurtenances: belongings. Compare p. 61.

Helena: the mother of Constantine the Great, who in 326 discovered the Holy Sepulchre and the cross of Christ. The crosses of the two thieves were also found, but the true cross was shown by its touch curing a sick lady.

excuse: hold as ensured against, as safe from.

Piæ fraudes: pious frauds, i.e. deceptions intended to strengthen religious belief in the person deceived.

consecrated Swords and Roses: bestowed by the Pope on faithful sons and daughters of the Church. James V of Scotland received "a cap and a sword consecrated on the night of the nativity of our Saviour." Henry VIII, while still a loyal son of Rome, was presented with a rose.

Baldwyn. Baldwin, the crusader, youngest brother of Godfrey de Bouillon, was king of Jerusalem, 1100–1118. He had the assistance of a Genoese fleet in capturing Acre and Sidon.

Page 41.

tincture: an imparted character or quality.

faculty: power, efficient property, virtue—obsolete meaning.

salve the doubt. See p. 32.

tender. See p. 38.

Reliques. The spelling *relique* is some three centuries older than *relic* and is now archaic.

the slender and doubtful respect. Yet Browne wrote on antiquities in his *Hydriotaphia*, though he admits he was not an enthusiastic antiquary.

the ancient of days: Daniel vii. 9, 13 and 22.

adjunct: qualifying addition. See p. 12.

Climacter: climacteric, critical period of human life. In man's life certain periods were regarded as of peculiar significance. The mystical number 7 and multiples of it, especially 63 (its multiple with the mystical 9), constituted such critical periods. The 63rd year was, by pre-eminence, the climacteric year or the grand climacteric. See *Pseud. Epidem.* IV. 12. The word *climacter* is now obsolete.

SECTION 29.

pass: leave unnoticed, disregard, ignore.

the cessation of Oracles: believed to have miraculously ceased when Christ came. Compare Milton, *On the Morning of Christ's Nativity*, 173 *sqq.*:

> "The oracles are dumb;
> No voice or hideous hum
> Runs through the arched roof in words deceiving.
> Apollo from his shrine
> Can no more divine,
> With hollow shriek the steep of Delphos leaving.
> No nightly trance, or breathed spell,
> Inspires the pale-eyed priest from the prophetic cell."

Spenser regards the cessation as beginning after Christ's crucifixion, *The Shepheards Calendar*, "Glosse" to *Maye*: "at that time... all Oracles surceased, and enchaunted spirits, that were wont to delude the people, thenceforth held theyr peace."

In *Pseud. Epidem.* VII. 12, Browne modifies his view: "That oracles ceased or grew mute at the coming of Christ is best understood in a qualified sense, and not without all latitude, as though precisely there were none after, nor any decay before. For (what we must confess unto relations of antiquity) some decay is observable from that of Cicero, urged by Baronius: 'Cur isto modo iam oracula Delphis non eduntur, non modo nostra ætate, sed iam diu, ut nihil possit esse contemptius?' That during his life they were not altogether dumb, is deducible from Suetonius in the life of Tiberius...In brief, histories are frequent in examples, and there want not some even to the reign of Julian."

Plutarch: the renowned biographer and philosopher of Bœotia, belonged to the first century A.D. In his work *De Oraculorum Defectu*, he explains the cessation of oracles as caused by the exhaustion of the vapour or exhalation from the earth which nourished them.

the supernatural Solstice. See p. 20.

the Eclipse: Luke xxiii. 44 *sq.*:

"And it was about the sixth hour [midday], and there was a darkness over all the earth until the ninth hour.

And the sun was darkened."

This could be no solar eclipse in the astronomical sense, for Christ was crucified at the time of full moon. Compare Selden, *Table-Talk*, CLIV.:

"The Eclipse of the Sun is, when it is new Moon; the Eclipse of the Moon, when 'tis full. They say Dionysius was converted by the Eclipse that happened at our Saviour's Death, because it was neither of these, and so could not be natural."

but for this: but as regards the cessation.

the Devil himself confessed it. It was a mediæval belief that Satan was the source of oracles. See pp. 16, 64; and compare *Pseud. Epidem.* I. 10. Milton, *Paradise Regained*, I. 455 *sqq.*, makes Christ address Satan:

"No more shalt thou by oracling abuse
The Gentiles; henceforth oracles are ceased,
And thou no more with pomp and sacrifice
Shalt be inquired at Delphos or elsewhere."

Browne explains that by "confessed it" he means in the Delphic oracle to Augustus. The Latin version of the original Greek, with Browne's translation, is in *Pseud. Epidem.* VII. 12:

"Me puer Hebræus divos Deus ipse gubernans,
Cedere sede iubet, tristemque redire sub orcum;
Aris ergo dehinc tacitus discedito nostris."

"An Hebrew child, a God all gods excelling,
To Hell again commands me from this dwelling;
Our altars leave in silence, and no more
A resolution e'er from hence implore."

not a warrantable curiosity: an unjustifiable curiosity. *Curiosity* was used to mean an undue or inquisitive desire to search into. *O.E.D.* gives, under date 1604: "It is curiositie to enquire into that which God hath concealed."

humane history. See p. 30.

Hester: more familiar to us as Esther.

Megasthenes or Herodotus. Megasthenes was a Greek, sent *circa* 300 B.C. by Seleucus Nicator as ambassador to Sandrocottus (Chandragupta), whose court was in the Ganges Valley. He compiled a book, *τὰ Ἰνδικά*, known to us from passages quoted by Ælian, Arrian and Strabo. Herodotus of

Halicarnassus, the first Greek historian, "the father of history," belonged to the fifth century B.C. He has much to say of the Persians. Hence the mention of Herodotus here. Both he and Megasthenes are cited by modern commentators on Esther and Daniel.

PAGE 42.

Justine. Justin (*circa* 200 A.D.) drew up an abridgment of the universal history compiled by Pompeius Tragus. Justin, XXXVI. 2, says: "Sed Ægyptii cum scabiem et vitiliginem paterentur, responso moniti, eum [Moysen] cum ægris, ne pestis ad plures serperet, terminis Ægypti pellunt."

delivers: relates, declares—a common Shakespearean sense.

vizards: masks. This form is very common from Elizabethan times to the end of the seventeenth century.

Moses hath outgone them. Deuteronomy is traditionally the fifth book of Moses, and chapter xxxiv narrates the death of Moses on Pisgah and his burial. To avoid taking this as an addition by another writer, Philo Judæus states that Moses was inspired to write prophetically of his death.

SECTION 30.

riddle: puzzle, mystery. See pp. 11, 77.

hath not worm'd...doubtful conceit: has not driven out all doubts as to the existence of spirits and witches.

forget their Metaphysicks. As philosophers they know the order of succession in life; and to doubt the existence of spirits is to forget their philosophy. See p. 46: "there is in this Universe a Stair, or manifest Scale of creatures"; and p. 48: "for first we are a rude mass," etc.

I have ever believed, and do now know. What special evidence Browne had for the existence of witches, is not known. Not long before he penned these words, many persons had been condemned, at the Lancashire Assizes, for witchcraft, in 1634 and 1635. A gentleman of education, Sir William Pelham, said he suspected the Lancashire witches had had a hand in raising the storm which endangered Charles I's safety as he crossed the Firth of Forth in 1633. Browne also may have been impressed by these Lancashire trials. That he held firmly to his belief in witchcraft, so firmly indeed as to overpower his natural kindliness, is clear from his action in 1664 at the witch-trial of Bury St Edmunds. See Introduction.

Belief in witchcraft had still many supporters in the seventeenth century not merely among the unlearned but also

among philosophers, theologians and lawyers, as Francis Bacon, Henry More, Ralph Cudworth, and Richard Baxter. There were, it is true, names of weight on the other side. John Webster and others denounced the absurdity of the delusion and the inhumanity of the proceedings against witches. Chief Justice North and Chief Justice Holt bravely opposed witch-trials. Hobbes was sceptical on the matter. Sir Kenelm Digby (*Observations upon Religio Medici*) says on this passage: "Neither do I deny there are Witches. I only reserve my Assent, till I meet with stronger motives to carry it." Even in the following century, Addison (*The Spectator*, No. 117) is very cautious in expressing his views:

"There are some opinions in which a man should stand neuter, without engaging his assent to one side or the other...

It is with this temper of mind that I consider the subject of witchcraft. When I hear the relations that are made from all parts of the world...I cannot forbear thinking that there is such an intercourse and commerce with evil spirits, as that which we express by the name of witchcraft. But when I consider that the ignorant and credulous parts of the world abound most in these relations, and that the persons among us, who are supposed to engage in such an infernal commerce, are people of a weak understanding and a crazed imagination ...I endeavour to suspend my belief till I hear more certain accounts than any which have yet come to my knowledge. In short, when I consider the question, whether there are such persons in the world as those we call witches? my mind is divided between the two opposite opinions; or rather (to speak my thoughts freely) I believe in general that there is, and has been such a thing as witchcraft; but at the same time can give no credit to any particular instance of it."

obliquely, and upon consequence: as a logical consequence coming indirectly. See p. 10.

Atheists. Joseph Glanvill, the philosopher, in his *Sadducismus Triumphatus* (1681), asserts that atheism grew out of Sadducism, and that, witches once disproved, belief in all spiritual existence would vanish. Some ninety years later John Wesley lamented that men of learning had given up the belief in witches, since "the giving up witchcraft is in effect giving up the Bible."

questionless. See p. 4.

heresie: refers to "their incredulity," their disbelief in the spirit-world, from which the Devil would convert them if he appeared.

capital: fatal, vitally injurious, most serious.

Legerdemain of Changelings. Persons, especially children, surreptitiously put in exchange for others. It was a very widespread belief that fairies stole unchristened infants from the cradle, leaving in exchange their own starveling imps. See Shakespeare, *Midsummer-Night's Dream*, II. i. 23; and Tennyson, *Gareth*.

PAGE 43.

into beasts. The metamorphosis of men into animals was another universal belief in folklore. See the story of Circe in Homer, *Odyssey*, X.; and compare Milton, *Comus*, 50 *sqq.*:

> "Who knows not Circe,
> The daughter of the Sun, whose charmed cup
> Whoever tasted lost his upright shape,
> And downward fell into a grovelling swine?"

Her son Comus, according to Milton (*ibid.* 54–77), with "his orient liquor," has even greater power over those who drink from his cup:

> "Soon as the potion works, their human count'nance
> The express resemblance of the gods, is changed
> Into some brutish form of wolf, or bear,
> Or ounce, or tiger, hog, or bearded goat,
> All other parts remaining as they were."

transpeciate: change into a different species. This is the earliest instance of the word in *O.E.D.*

tempted Christ. See p. 39.

Antichrist. See p. 6.

Dan. It was an old Israelitish tradition that Antichrist should be born of the tribe of Dan. The tradition was perhaps based on Genesis xlix. 17: "Dan shall be a serpent by the way, an adder in the path"; and was cited by Irenæus to explain the omission of Dan from the tribes sealed and saved, Revelation vii.

Rabbin. See p. 31.

the Devil is concealed: the Devil's presence is concealed.

God and good Angels are pretended: the presence of God and good Angels is claimed.

defection: backsliding, apostasy. The manuscripts read *detection*, but all the editions printed during Browne's life have *defection*.

the Maid of Germany: "That lived," says one manuscript, "without meat, on the smell of a rose." Nothing more, however, seems to be known about her.

pregnant: clear, obvious. The orginal meaning is urgent, pressing.

Section 31.

are able, and do...practise. The construction is incomplete, since *able* requires to be followed by *to practise*, not by *practise* alone.

emperically: in the empirical way, based on observation and experiment, not on theory, and here with the notion of like a quack-doctor. The spelling with *e* is common in seventeenth century.

they proceeding. Earlier editions read *they both*, i.e. the Devil's scholars and their pupils.

actives...disposed passives. Actives, i.e. active qualities or forces, those originating or communicating action. *O.E.D.* quotes from Hale (1677): "If it should be in the power of an Angel by applying actives to passives to produce an Insect."

derived to: transmitted to, imparted, communicated.

Page 44.

no more but. See p. 1.

discovery...discovery: finding out...disclosing. Note the paronomasia through using the word in two distinct senses.

Paracelsus: in his *De Imaginibus*. See p. 27.

without an asterisk, or annotation: without adding * or N.B.

Ascendens constellatum: i.e. says Browne, "Our good Angel appointed us from our nativity." The translation of the Latin is: "The star in the ascendant reveals many things to those who search into the wonders of nature, i.e. the works of God."

essences: beings. "Those noble essences" are the spirits in heaven, whose fellow-natures on earth are men, since man shares in the life of spirits. See p. 48.

prognosticks...States, Princes. See Shakespeare, *Julius Cæsar*, II. ii. 30 *sq.*:

> "When beggars die, there are no comets seen;
> The heavens themselves blaze forth the death of princes";

and Milton, *Paradise Lost*, I. 594 *sqq.*:

> "As when the sun....
> In dim eclipse, disastrous twilight sheds
> On half the nations, and with fear of change
> Perplexes monarchs."

Compare *ibid.* XI. 181 *sqq*; and Shakespeare, *I Henry VI*, I. i. 1 *sqq*.

charitable premonitions. Compare Defoe, *Robinson Crusoe*:

"Let no Man despise the secret Hints and Notices of Danger, which sometimes are given him, when he may think there is no Possibility of its being real. That such Hints and Notices are given us, I believe few that have made any Observations of things can deny; that they are certain Discoveries of an invisible World, and a Converse of Spirits, we cannot doubt; and if the Tendency of them seems to be to warn us of Danger, why should we not suppose they are from some friendly Agent, whether supreme, or inferior, and subordinate is not the Question; and that they are given for our Good?"

Section 32.

particular and divided: distinct and individual.

an universal...Spirit: Anima Mundi.

Plato: in his *Timæus*, 30 B, 34 B *sqq*.

Hermetical Philosophers: those who adopted the views of Hermes Trismegistus. See p. 12.

radical heat: the heat indispensable to life. See p. 60.

vertue: power, efficacious force. This is the earlier spelling.

Page 45.

brooded: alluding to Genesis i. 2: "And the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters," where R.V. margin gives "was brooding upon." Some of the Latin patristic writers have *incubabat*. Commentators note the rarity of the Hebrew word. The root is found in Aramaic, sometimes of a bird hatching an egg. It has been suggested that the phraseology in Genesis is a reminiscence of the cosmogony where the world-egg is the origin of heaven and earth. Compare Milton, *Paradise Lost*, I. 17 *sqq*.:

"And chiefly thou, O Spirit...
thou from the first
Wast present, and, with mighty wings outspread,
Dove-like sat'st brooding on the vast Abyss,
And mad'st it pregnant."

region: with the sense of sky, heaven, keeps up the figure of *irradiation*, *mists*, *clouds*, which is continued in *serenity*, originally applied to clear sky, fair weather. This use of *region* occurs in Shakespeare, as *Hamlet*, II. ii. 509; and in Milton, as *Paradise Lost*, III. 349.

warm gale: not a tempestuous wind, but a gentle breeze—a frequent sense in poetry. Compare Shakespeare, *Tempest*, v. i. 314: "calm seas, auspicious gales";

Milton, *Paradise Lost*, IV. 156 *sq.*:

"now gentle gales,
Fanning their odoriferous wings."

So also in prose (Goldsmith, *Essays*, IX.): "The auspicious gale before which the trim vessel ploughs the bosom of the sea, while the mariners are kept alert in duty and in spirits, if converted into a hurricane, overwhelms the crew with terror and confusion."

gentle ventilation: current of air, breeze—obsolete usage.

Tropick: each of the two circles of the celestial sphere, parallel to the celestial equator, about 23½° north and south of it, and marking out the north and south limits of the sun's apparent motion. Hence "under the Tropick" is in the regions of greatest heat. Waller, *On Cromwell's Death*, has:

"Under the Tropick is our Language spoke."

wrought his track: worked his way.

Cancers back. At the summer solstice, when the sun is furthest north, he enters the zodiacal sign of Cancer.

ycie: a spelling of *icy* in sixteenth century and seventeenth.

the Celestial coale: the glowing sun—a metaphor like the "conceits" of the "metaphysical" poets. *Coale* = a piece of carbon glowing without flame is now archaic. Compare the Biblical phrases "a live coal," and "coals of fire."

thy absent beams: concisely put for "thy beams, formerly long absent, now returning."

a Solstice: mid-summer heat.

this Orb of mine: my eyes—poetic usage.

in the midst of June: instead of the heat of June, comes December's winter cold. After this line the 1642 editions and two manuscripts insert:

"Keepe still in my horizon, for to mee
'Tis not the Sunne that makes the day, but Thee."

See p. 109.

this earthly temper: nature, constitution of the body.

wingy nature. Compare *Hydriotaphia*, 4: "Before Plato could speak, the soul had wings in Homer, which fell not, but flew out of the body into the mansions of the dead."

choak: a spelling of *choke* found from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century.

aspires: aspirations. To use verbs as nouns was pretty common in Browne's day. Writing to Kenelm Digby (March 3, 1642), he has "in the Vouchsafe of your Refute"—probably a unique employment of *vouchsafe* as a noun instead of *vouchsafement.*

SECTION **33.**

Therefore for Spirits. See p. 48.

PAGE **46.**

Tutelary and Guardian. See p. 33.

not a new opinion: belief, as below, "an opinion of a good and wholesome use."

Plato: as in *Phædo*, 107 D.

defin'd: expressly stated, specified—obsolete usage. See p. 39.

salve. See p. 32.

my opinion: judgment, based on grounds short of proof.

Metaphysicks: philosophical theory, speculative explanation.

in a negative way: by stating what they are not.

in a comparative: i.e. in a comparative way, by analogy.

a Stair, or manifest Scale: an ascending series, viz.: (1) inorganic matter, "creatures of meer existence"; (2) "plants," "things of life"; (3) "animals," "creatures of sense"; (4) rational beings, man; (5) angels. See Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, II. xii. 33, with Mayor's note. Aristotle was the earliest to argue from the scale of existence. See pp. 42, 48. Compare Milton, *Paradise Lost*, V. 469 *sqq.*, with Verity's notes.

hold one: hold, continue. The two unauthorised editions and the first two authorised editions have *on*. Later editions, including that of 1682, have *one*—a Middle English variant of *on*, but perhaps a misprint here.

Porphyry: a Neo-Platonist philosopher of the third century A.D. One of the manuscripts of *Religio Medici* gives a Latin translation of Porphyry's definition—"essentiae rationalis immortalis," i.e. angels are of a nature rational and immortal.

Man...Immortal. So thought many of the Church Fathers. See Milton, *Paradise Lost*, VIII. 331, with Verity's note.

Schools. See pp. 15, 20.

extemporary: intuitive, possessed without study or preparation—a nonce-use of the word, says *O.E.D.* Milton credits angels with the same intuitive power. See *Paradise Lost*, V. 487 *sqq.*, with Verity's note.

Page 47.

forms: essential characteristics. Form is what makes anything a determinate species or kind of being. See p. 92.

specifical difference: differentia, the quality or characteristic distinguishing a thing from all others of the same class.

accidents and properties: attributes and qualities, not essential to the notion. Browne is following the Latin of the logicians—*accidens* and *proprium*. See just below, "a bare accident."

demonstrations: clear proofs, logically demonstrated.

numerical: particular, individual—obsolete usage. See p. 68.

reserved difference: kept back, kept in seclusion, hidden. So p. 88.

Hypostasis: substance, actuality.

informs. See p. 15.

ours upon restraint. The expression is not quite clear, but Browne's meaning is: The soul has the power of moving the body it animates, and in the same way there exists a faculty in the angels by which they move any body without animating it. Our power acts under the restraint or limitation of time, place and distance; angels are not bound by limitations of time, place or distance.

Habakkuk: *Bel and the Dragon*, 34 *sqq.*:

"But the angel of the Lord said unto Habakkuk, Go, carry the dinner that thou hast into Babylon unto Daniel, who is in the lions' den.

And Habakkuk said, Lord, I never saw Babylon; neither do I know where the den is.

Then the angel of the Lord took him by the crown, and bare him by the hair of the head, and through the vehemency of his spirit set him in Babylon over the den."

Philip: Acts viii. 39 *sq.*

infringeth this rule: i.e. the limitations placed on mortals do not exist in the case of angels.

in reflexion. The *x*-spelling is the earlier, and etymologically correct; but *ct* is now more usual.

cannot...deny but. This use of *but* is now somewhat archaic. We also find *but that*. The regular present-day usage is *that* alone. Compare Shakespeare, *Much Ado about Nothing*, I. iii. 30: "...it must not be denied but I am a plain-dealing villain."

throughly: thoroughly, fully, completely. The form *throughly* is now archaic, but, in Shakespeare, it is more frequent than *thoroughly*. So pp. 8, 25.

At the conversion: Luke xv. 10:

"Likewise, I say unto you, there is joy in the presence of the angels of God over one sinner that repenteth."

Browne either did not remember exactly or else had in mind some version like the Genevan, which translates *converteth*, not *repenteth*.

great Father. Keck considers the allusion to be to Chrysostom. Augustine also mentions this belief.

securely: with confidence, without misgiving.

Fiat lux: Let there be light (Genesis i. 3).

any creature: any created thing.

so neer a glympse: so close a resemblance. This meaning of *glimpse* is now obsolete.

a bare accident: a mere quality, as opposed to "Substance," an actual existence. Compare *accidental*, p. 75.

Page 48. Section 34.

Magisterial: as by a master, showing a master's hand.

the best part of nothing. Creation is God's making all out of nothing. The angels then, as "the Flower" of the Creator's work, may be termed "the best part of nothing."

actually existing: awkwardly expressed—"being already that which we, as yet, only hope and believe we shall be."

amphibious piece: sharing in two natures—the corporeal or material, and the spiritual. See *Amphibium*, below.

corporal: corporeal, material, physical—obsolete sense. So Shakespeare, *Macbeth*, I. iii. 81. This usage was common in the sixteenth century and the seventeenth.

middle form: the mean between the extremes.

that jumps not. Compare the common saying: "Natura non facit saltum," i.e. "There is no breach of continuity in nature."

the breath and similitude. Genesis i. 27: "So God created man in his own image"; and *ibid.* ii. 7: "And the Lord God formed man of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and man became a living soul." See p. 101.

Microcosm: man as the world in miniature. The natural philosophers of the sixteenth century considered the world as a human organism on a large scale—the macrocosm, and man as a world in little—the microcosm. Shakespeare makes Menenius (*Coriolanus*, II. i. 68) call his face "the map of my microcosm." Compare Tennyson, *The Princess*, III. 296. See below, pp. 72, 105, 106.

trope of Rhetorick: figure of speech.

rude mass: formless, in the rough. Compare Ovid's description of Chaos, *Metam.* I. 7:

"rudis indigestaque moles."

creatures, which onely are: things that merely exist, inorganic matter. See p. 46, for the "five kinds of existences."

priviledged with life: invested with the privilege of life, granted the special favour of life.

preferred: promoted.

in divers elements: as the frog on land and in water. Man, on the contrary, lives in two distinct and differentiated worlds—the visible and the invisible. For though to sense there is only one world—the visible, to reason there are two—the visible and the invisible.

whereof: i.e. of the visible.

of the other: i.e. of the invisible. It was debated whether the Mosaic accounts of creation should be simply taken literally, as describing the visible world alone, or whether they might not bear an allegorical interpretation, as pictures of the world invisible.

for the first: as regards the first.

Page 49.

to the power of humane reason: as far as human reason could go. For *humane*, see p. 23.

and perhaps. The meaning seems to be, "and perhaps they are (or they are in keeping with) the mystical method."

bred up: Acts vii. 22: "And Moses was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, and was mighty in words and in deeds." "The wisdom" was interpreted to include an esoteric knowledge of the mysteries of the symbolic hieroglyphics or sacred picture-writing.

Section 35.

the first moveable: *primum mobile* of the mediæval astronomers. To reach the world of spirits, "that immaterial world," we need not go outside our own universe, "this material Fabrick," "beyond the first moveable," "beyond the extreamest circumference." Browne has in mind the Ptolemaic conception of the universe. The earth was the centre, round which were concentric spheres in revolution. The sphere nearest the earth carried the moon. Then in order came the spheres of Mercury, Venus, the Sun, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn,

and the fixed stars. Later astronomers added a ninth sphere, and then the tenth or *primum mobile*. The tenth sphere (see p. 70) was supposed to revolve from east to west in twenty-four hours, and carry the others along. Outside that was absolute infinity. Milton, in *Paradise Lost*, e.g. III. 481, adopts the Ptolemaic system, though he knew and mentions the Copernican. For Browne's references to Copernicus, see pp. 111, 113.

In the present passage, most of the early editions omit "beyond" before "the first moveable," but the preposition is manifestly required.

exempt from the affection of: exempt from the condition of, unaffected by. See p. 18.

do but...matter. The meaning seems to be: Do but make an extract from the corporeal substance, from the material substance, or reduce things [not merely into, but even] past their constituent elements. *Corpulency* is obsolete in the sense of material quality or substance, density.

ubiquitary: synonymous with *omnipresent*—rare or obsolete usage.

determinate: having defined limits, fixed, established.

mansion: abiding-place—archaic meaning. So p. 68.

at a distance: far away, remote.

ministring Spirits: Hebrews i. 14: "Are they (the angels) not all ministering spirits, sent forth to minister for them who shall be heirs of salvation?"

without himself: outside himself.

PAGE 50.

the very end of our Creation. The Westminster *Larger Catechism* says: "Man's chief and highest end is to glorify God."

to repent: Genesis vi. 6: "And it repented the Lord that he had made man on the earth, and it grieved him at his heart."

would not destroy it: Genesis ix. 11: "And I will establish my covenant with you; neither shall all flesh be cut off any more by the waters of a flood; neither shall there any more be a flood to destroy the earth."

and as weakly: and as feebly did he prove, i.e. he failed to prove. See p. 14. The old philosophers who affirmed that the world had a beginning, maintained that it was generated. Aristotle could not understand generation except from previously existent substance. Therefore to him the world must be eternal. See *Pseud. Epidem.* I. 11; and VI. 1.

Philosophers. Earlier editions have "ancient Philosophers."
all is salved. See p. 32.
and what is that? What is nothing?
he onely is: he, and he only, exists.
have an existence with dependency: exist only in dependence on God, have no existence except in dependence. For the form *dependency*, see p. 1.
but by a distinction: only with a qualification which distinguishes them from the one real existence.
conformant: conformable, in harmony, in agreement with —obsolete word. This is the only instance in *O.E.D.*
generation not onely. The meaning is clearer if we take it "not only generation."
Omniety informed Nullity: allness animated nothingness. The more usual spelling (as in earlier editions of *Religio Medici*) of this rare word is *omneity*.

Section 36.

blast: breath—obsolete or archaic usage. See p. 14.
at his bare word: Genesis i. 3: "And God said, Let there be light: and there was light." So in verses 6, 9, 11, 14, 20 and 24. Contrast these with the phraseology of "the Text," where God "seemed not so much to create, as make him."
the Text: Genesis ii. 7: "And the Lord God formed man of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and man became a living soul."
the sensible operator: the intelligent workman. This resembles Xenophon's *σοφοῦ τινος δημιουργοῦ* (*Memorabilia*, I. iv. 7). In Neo-Platonism God is named *δημιουργὸς* as the Maker of things out of matter already existent, *κτίστης* as the Creator out of nothing.
a form and soul. Here soul means life, animate existence in animals—an obsolete use of the word—in contrast to the "incorruptible and immortal Soul" of man.

Page 51.

the walls of man: man's body. See next page.
was driven: the reading of the earliest editions. *Has* (of 1682 and other editions) is inferior. It should also be noted that Browne's invariable usage is *hath* not *has*. See Introduction.
like himself: Genesis i. 26: "And God said, Let us make man in our image, after our likeness."

affections: attributes, qualities, viz. incorruptibility and immortality. See p. 63.

Philosophy: a reasoned belief; as opposed to opinion, a judgment based on grounds short of proof. See p. 52.

flat affirmative of Plato: unqualified, plain, downright; as in *Phædo*, *Timæus*, *Phædrus*.

scruple: doubt, uncertainty.

its production: whether the soul of each person is created by God, or transmitted from parents, i.e. by traduction.

auditories: lecture-rooms, philosophical schools—obsolete usage.

that...as. This construction is now obsolete in standard English, though still common in dialect. See *Julius Cæsar*, I. ii. 33, and elsewhere in Shakespeare.

indifferency: equipoise, absence of inclination to one side or the other—now a rare sense. For the form *indifferency*, see p. 1.

a receipt. The recipe of Paracelsus is frequently referred to. See Wilkin's note in Bohn's edition, II. 376. Compare Butler, *Hudibras*, II. iii. 299 *sq.*:

> "What med'cine 't was that Paracelsus
> Could make a man with, as he tells us."

Paracelsus' *homunculus* was able to reveal secrets and mysteries of science.

traduction: transmission of the soul by generation to offspring—a usage common in Browne's day but now rare, if not obsolete. See Chambers's *Encyclopædia*, *s.v.* "Preexistence."

Antimetathesis: a figure in which there is counterchange, i.e. the members of the first half exchange positions and constructions in the second, as "Creando infunditur, infundendo creatur." "By creating it [the soul] is imparted, by imparting it is created." Compare Shelley, *The Skylark*, 10:

> "And singing still dost soar, and soaring ever singest."

See below, p. 59.

Augustine: the most illustrious of the Latin fathers, and one of the greatest intellects that ever lived. He was born in 354 A.D. and died in 430. His best known works are his *Confessions* and *De Civitate Dei*. The statement in this passage is Augustine's idea, crystallised by Peter Lombard, one of the twelfth-century Schoolmen, in his "Sentences."

either opinion: traduction or creation.

consist: agree, be in harmony.

to this: creation.
equivocal: of uncertain nature, nondescript.
impression and tincture: mark and trace.
evidence it self: indicate, manifest.
acceptions: acceptations, significations, the accepted meanings. The form *acception* is now obsolete. See p. 63.
inorganical: without organs, not possessing organs or not acting by them. See "inorganity," just below.

PAGE 52.

Crasis: mixture of elements, constitution, temperament—obsolete usage. *O.E.D.* quotes (1677): "the very *crasis* and constitution of the Soul."
this mass of flesh and visible structure. With this periphrasis for the body, compare "the walls of man" (p. 51), and "these walls of flesh," just below.
corps: the living body. So p. 108. For the form *corps*, see p. 9.
but rather of Sense. The body is the organ and abode, not of the soul, but of sense; and sense is the hand, the instrument, of reason.
Philosophy: profound knowledge, wisdom. See p. 51.
reduced the very Heathens. Keck refers to Galen (see p. 19), who (*De Usu Partium Corporis humani*), overpowered by the evidence of design, declared his book to be a hymn to the Creator's praise. Editors also quote Plato, *Timæus*, 69; Xenophon, *Memorabilia*, I. iv. 2 *sqq.*; Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, II. liii. 133.
in that I find not, there is no: in what I find not, viz. that there is no. Browne is here rejecting the doctrine of the vitalists. They held the soul to be an organic part of the bodily frame, "a fluid, perhaps faintly luminous, pervading the human structure, in the removal of which consisted the fact of death." Compare p. 60.
crany: cranium, skull—obsolete word.
inorganity: the condition of having no organs. See "inorganical," p. 51.
entred in us. *In* = into was once common but is now obsolete or dialectal. So Shakespeare, *Richard III*, v. iii. 228:

"That ever enter'd in a drowsy head";

and *Julius Cæsar*, v. iii. 96.

Section 37.

to be immured. Compare Shakespeare, *Merchant of Venice*, v. i. 63 *sqq.*:

> "Such harmony is in immortal souls;
> But whilst this muddy vesture of decay
> Doth grossly close it in, we cannot hear it."

an elemental composition: composed of elements. This use of *elemental* is obsolete.

Fabrick: frame, structure. The word is often applied to the animal body.

All flesh is grass: Isaiah xl. 6.

carnified: turned into flesh, a variation of the preceding "digested into flesh."

Page 53.

Anthropophagi: man-eaters, cannibals. Compare Shakespeare, *Othello*, I. iii. 143 *sqq.*:

> "And of the Cannibals that each other eat,
> The Anthropophagi and men whose heads
> Do grow beneath their shoulders."

This form, not naturalised in English, is the plural of the Latin transliteration of the Greek word, which is literally "man-eater." *Cannibal* is originally the proper name of the man-eating Caribs of the Antilles. See *O.E.D.* for an interesting account of the word.

trenchers: plates, platters. Originally the trencher was a flat piece of wood on which meat was served and cut up. This use of the word is now archaic, except in the dialects.

devour'd our selves. The various foods we eat are, by the figure prolepsis, called ourselves, because they are ultimately "carnified in us."

wisdom of Pythagoras: the wise Pythagoras. This figurative use of the abstract word *wisdom* instead of the adjective emphasises Browne's incredulity that a man of the wisdom of Pythagoras should hold such a view. It was believed, however, that Pythagoras, besides asserting the doctrine of metempsychosis, declared that his soul had animated the body of Euphorbus in the Trojan War. Browne himself refers to this in *Christian Morals*, II. 5. The belief in the transmigration of souls is found among many peoples from the earliest times. See Shakespeare, *Merchant of Venice*, IV. i. 130 *sqq.*; and *Twelfth Night*, IV. ii. 54 *sqq.* Three of *The Spectator* Essays deal with transmigration, 211, 343, 408. Note that metamorphosis,

mentioned below, is properly transformation of living beings as in lycanthropy and witchcraft.

Metempsycosis: a spelling of the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries.

Lots wife: Genesis xix. 26: "But his wife looked back from behind him, and she became a pillar of salt." Compare *Pseud. Epidem.* VII. 11.

Nebuchodonosor: better known to us as Nebuchadnezzar. The allusion is to Daniel iv. 33: "The same hour was the thing fulfilled upon Nebuchadnezzar: and he was driven from men, and did eat grass as oxen, and his body was wet with the dew of heaven."

implicite sense: the meaning implied but not plainly expressed.

morality: moral, moral lesson. So Chaucer, *Nonne Preestes Tale*, 4630:

> "Taketh the moralitee, good men."

materialled: brought into material form—obsolete word.

neither contrary nor corruption: to be interpreted by means of its model, a sentence in St Thomas Aquinas: "Non invenitur corruptio, nisi ubi invenitur contrarietas," i.e. Corruption is not found, except where contrariety is found.

their proper: their own. So frequently in Shakespeare.

unquiet walks of Devils. Compare Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, II. ii. 627 *sqq.*:

> "The spirit that I have seen
> May be the devil: and the devil hath power
> To assume a pleasing shape; yea, and perhaps
> Out of my weakness and my melancholy,
> As he is very potent with such spirits,
> Abuses me to damn me."

suggesting: prompting, tempting—obsolete usage. So frequently in Shakespeare.

stealing into our hearts: insinuating. After *hearts* most early editions have a semi-colon (or a colon), which spoils the sense. For the *that*-clause depends on *instilling, and stealing*, not upon *I believe*.

those phantasms. This passage may contain a reminiscence of Plato, *Phædo*, 81 C and D, which Jowett translates: [a polluted soul] "prowling about tombs and sepulchres, in the neighbourhood of which, as they tell us, are seen certain ghostly apparitions [Greek *φαντάσματα*, Browne's "phantasms"] of

souls which have not departed pure." This Platonic passage **influenced** Milton, *Comus*, 470 *sqq.*:

> "Such are those thick and gloomy shadows damp
> Oft seen in charnel-vaults and sepulchres,
> Lingering and sitting by a new-made grave."

dormitories of the dead: resting-places—an obsolete use of the word. The original meaning of *cemetery* is sleeping-place.

Champion: warrior, conqueror.

PAGE 54.

spoils...Adam. The Devil's "spoils and Trophies" are the dead, because "in Adam all die" (1 Corinthians xv. 22) and the coming of death is the sign of the Devil's victory over Adam (Genesis iii).

SECTION 38.

O Adam quid fecisti? quoted from the Latin version of 2 Esdras vii. 48: "O thou Adam, what hast thou done? for though it was thou that sinned, thou art not fallen alone, but we all that come of thee."

strait ligaments: ties closely knit, tightly drawn—synonymous with "narrow obligations."

Anatomies. The word in Browne's day often meant a body anatomised and also a body prepared for dissection. Either meaning fits the context and Browne's profession.

Cadaverous: belonging to a *cadaver*, a dead body.

Vespilloes: those who carry out corpses by night for burial. The word has three forms in the singular—*vespillo*, *vespillon*, *vespillone*, from Latin *vespillo*, with the same meaning. The examples in *O.E.D.* all come from the seventeenth century and from a period of twenty-five years.

the extremities thereof: the most intense, most violent, forms. See p. 75.

a well-resolved Christian: one whose faith is firmly fixed. Compare *Letter to a Friend*, passage quoted in note to "defie death," p. 55.

to dye. Note the synonymous phrases employed here, and compare Shakespeare, *As You Like It*, v. i. 52 *sqq.*:

> "Therefore, you clown, abandon—which is in the vulgar leave—the society—which in the boorish is company—of this female—which in the common is woman; which together is, abandon the society of this female, or, clown, thou perishest; or, to thy better understanding, diest; or to wit, I kill thee,

make thee away, translate thy life into death, thy liberty into bondage."

elements: the four elements—earth, water, air, fire; and so this present life. See below, "this retaining to the Sun and Elements."

take a full view and circle: take an all-round view, examine from all sides.

this reasonable moderator: arbitrator, umpire.

equal piece: impartial—a usage found in Spenser, Shakespeare, A.V., and Burke, but now obsolete.

intreat a moments breath: obtain by entreaty. Perhaps Browne was influenced, in this uncommon use, by the Latin *impetrare*. The sense of prevail upon by supplication, persuade by pleading, was fairly common when Browne was writing *Religio Medici*. The meaning of this passage is: "the vanities would not induce me to wish to live another moment."

would not outlive that very thought: would die at once, as soon as the thought of always living on the earth came to me.

so abject a conceit: so mean an idea.

retaining to: adhering to, clinging to—obsolete sense.

Page 55.

embrace: accept, submit to: often with *death*, *adverse fortune*, *suffering*.

defie death: set at defiance, challenge the power of. Instead of *defie*, the manuscripts and the 1642 editions have *desire*. Compare *Letter to a Friend*, xxv.:

"Not to fear Death, nor desire it, was short of his Resolution: to be dissolved, and be with Christ, was his dying ditty...But to be content with Death may be better than to desire it: a miserable Life may make us wish for Death, but a virtuous one to rest in it; which is the advantage of those resolved Christians, who, looking on Death not only as the sting, but the period and end of Sin, the Horizon and Isthmus between this Life and a better, and the Death of this World but as a Nativity of another, do contentedly submit unto the common Necessity, and envy not Enoch or Elias."

tattered: like Falstaff's men (Shakespeare, 1 *Henry IV*, iv. ii. 12 *sqq.*), "slaves as ragged as Lazarus in the painted cloth...ten times more dishonourable ragged than an old faced ancient...you would think that I had a hundred and fifty tattered prodigals lately come from swine-keeping...No eye hath seen such scarecrows."

amazed at death: confounded with fear, filled with consternation—obsolete usage.

too sensible of: too much under the influence of, too much in love with. The earliest example in *O.E.D.* belongs to 1791.

Section 39.

30 years old. Browne (*Pseud. Epidem.* VII. 3) refers to a "conceit urged by learned men" about Adam as "created in the perfect age of man, which was in those days fifty or sixty years."

some months elder. Compare *Pseud. Epidem.* IV. 12: "...for every man is many months elder than he computeth. For although we begin the same from our nativity, and conceive that no arbitrary, but natural term of compute, yet for the duration of life or existence, we are liable in the womb unto the usual distinctions of time, and are not to be exempted from the account of age and life, where we are subject to diseases, and often suffer death." This opinion was at times of more than academic interest. The French king, for political reasons, wished Mary of Guise to be Regent of Scotland, nominally by choice of her daughter, Mary Queen of Scots. This, however, could not be accomplished until the young Queen, born in December, 1542, should be twelve. But in the spring of 1554, Mary of Guise argued that her daughter was already twelve, since, by use and wont, in the case of king or queen, the time the child is in the womb should be reckoned with the rest of the years. See Bishop Leslie's *History, ad loc.* For *elder then*, see p. 13.

for we live: adapted from Acts xvii. 28.

malice: harm, injury—obsolete meaning.

the truest Microcosm, the Womb. Compare *Hydriotaphia*, 3: "nor much unlike the Urnes of our Nativity, while we lay in the nether part of the Earth, and inward vault of our Microcosme."

in our Chaos: rude, undeveloped state.

sleep within the bosome of our causes: lie latent, be existent but not developed.

receive most manifest graduations: most manifestly rise by degrees or steps.

World and womb. The word *and* has been objected to since *womb* is not added to *world* but is in apposition. But *and* is used to introduce explanatory words—a usage which suits this passage.

many creatures: e.g. those of the ephemeral type.

not yet without life. At first sight *yet* seems to give the opposite of the sense required; but there is no difficulty if we take *yet* to mean indeed, nevertheless, at any rate, and correlative with *though* following.

PAGE 56.

soul of vegetation: the vegetal, or vegetative, soul. See p. 15.

that part of Divinity: that part of the divine nature. See p. 72: "that immortal essence, that translated divinity and colony of God, the Soul"; and p. 106: "There is surely a piece of Divinity in us." Compare Addison, *Cato*, v. i. 5 *sqq*.

secondine: secundine or afterbirth.

slough of flesh: Shakespeare's "muddy vesture of decay," quoted in note to p. 52.

that ineffable place of Paul. Paul, speaking of his experience when "caught up to the third heaven," says, 2 Corinthians xii. 4: "How that he was caught up into paradise, and heard unspeakable words, which it is not lawful for a man to utter."

ubi: Latin for "where," used here as noun with the sense of dwelling-place, home. So p. 73. This use of *ubi* was common *c.* 1640–1740 (*O.E.D.*).

Philosophers Stone: the unique substance supposed to have the power to transform baser metals into gold. Mediæval alchemists searched for it, and in the search made many valuable discoveries. Here it means scientific knowledge in general, for it includes what Browne learned from observing silkworms. *Philosophers* is rather plural (*-rs'*) than singular (*-r's*), for it translates the mediæval Latin *lapis philosophorum*.

exaltation: refining, subliming, bringing to a higher degree of potency or purity—a usage of the older chemistry, now obsolete.

mystical: mysterious—rare or obsolete sense.

transmigrations. The more exact term would be *transformations*.

in Silk-worms. From the egg comes the worm (larva or caterpillar), which spins its silken cell or cocoon. There it develops into a pupa or chrysalis, which in time breaks through as the moth.

and hath. Supply the words *that something* as subject.

Section 40.

effront: free from shyness, from bashfulness—obsolete.
enharden: make hard—obsolete or archaic.
start: flinch, recoil from fear or repugnance.

Page 57.

conceit: conception, idea. See p. 79.

Lectures of mortality: lessons, instructive counsels drawn from his death.

Quantum mutatus ab illo! "How altered from the man we knew" (Conington). Æneas is describing (Virgil, *Æneid*, II. 274) the vision he had of the dead Hector.

Anatomy: dissection, i.e. the appearance of my body when anatomised. See pp. 54, 83.

accuse Nature for. In this construction *for* is no longer used.

morsel...worms. Compare Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, IV. iii. 17 *sqq.*:

"*King.* Now, Hamlet, where's Polonius?
Hamlet. At supper.
King. At supper! where?
Hamlet. Not where he eats, but where he is eaten: a certain convocation of politic worms are e'en at him. Your worm is your only emperor for diet. We fat all creatures else to fat us, and we fat ourselves for maggots; your fat king and your lean beggar is but variable service, two dishes, but to one table; that's the end."

Section 41.

upon the courage of: taking courage from, encouraged by.

can...away with: endure, put up with. This use of *away with* seems to be elliptical, a verb being suppressed. Compare Isaiah i. 13: "The new moons and sabbaths, the calling of assemblies, I cannot away with"; and Shakespeare, 2 *Henry IV*, III. ii. 213.

counterfeit subsisting: artificial, fictitious, spurious existence.

progenies: offspring, issue, progeny. This is not the plural of *progeny*, but the Latin word *progenies*.

not caring for a Monument. See *Hydriotaphia*, 5

Register of God: "the book of life," mentioned in Revelation iii. 5; xiii. 8; xvii. 8; xx. 12; xxi. 27. Compare Luke x. 20; Philippians iv. 3.

so Cynical: so much a follower of the philosophy of the Cynics, who regarded as worthless most objects of the common aims of mankind and who flaunted their disregard of customary notions of propriety. Their name came from the gymnasium Cynosarges, where their founder, Antisthenes, taught; but its resemblance to the Greek word for doglike led the Greeks to consider that association very apt. In this passage Browne may intend *Cynical* to suggest also the modern meaning of surly, misanthropic.

the Testament of Diogenes: "who," says Browne, "willed his friend not to bury him, but hang him up with a staff in his hand to fright away the crows." Cicero (*Tusculan Disputations*, I. xliii. 104) tells that Diogenes bade his friends throw out his body unburied. "What!" said they, "to be devoured by birds and beasts?" "Not at all," said he. "Place a staff beside me, with which to drive them away?" "How can you? For you will not feel." "How then will mangling by wild beasts injure me when I feel nothing?" Diogenes, the well-known Cynic of the fourth century B.C., carried the Cynic doctrines to the extreme limit in his eccentric mode of life.

allow: command, approve of—archaic if not obsolete. See p. 61.

Rodomontado: boastful, bragging remark—obsolete form of *rodomontade*.

Lucan. M. Annæus Lucanus (39–65 A.D.), born at Corduba in Spain, came to Rome, where he soon achieved fame as a poet. Lucan was a special favourite of English champions of liberty in the seventeenth century. See pp. 60, 63, 109. This quotation is from *Pharsalia*, VII. 819.

PAGE 58.

But commend. Note the omission of subject *I*. The pronoun is frequently omitted in Old and Middle English—less often after 1500—when it can be supplied from the context or understood from a previous sentence or clause. See Malory, *Le Morte Darthur*, v: "'My Lord,' said Bedivere, 'your commandment shall be done; and lightly bring you word again.'" Compare Chaucer, *The Knightes Tale*, 1641 *sqq.*; and Scott, *Marmion*, II. xxviii. *ad finem*. See also Browne's address "To the Reader" *ad finem*: "Lastly, all that is contained therein

is in submission unto maturer discernments; and, as I have declared, shall no further father them," etc., where we naturally expect "I shall." This omission is perhaps a relic of prehistoric usage when verbal inflections sufficiently indicated the persons of the verb, as we find in Gothic as well as in Greek and Latin. Other examples occur just below, on p. 104, and elsewhere.

to sleep by the urns: to lie in the family burying-ground; or to be taken literally (i.e. to have their urns placed beside the urns of their ancestors), if "the neatest way" means cremation.

the temper of Crows: their constitution, i.e. their longevity; discussed, *Pseud. Epidem.* III. 9. There Browne cites the belief attributed by Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* VII. 49 (48), to Hesiod that the crow lives nine times as long as man, the deer four times as long as the crow, the raven three times as long as the deer. He also alludes to Theophrastus' expostulation to nature for the anomaly of long life to ravens and deer and brief life to man. Hence perhaps the words here: "I do not envy."

Astrology. Browne's "nativity" was cast, as we learn from p. 108.

a Jubilee: a period of fifty years, half a century—obsolete usage.

as yet: i.e. at the time of writing. The planet Saturn makes one revolution round the sun in 29·46 years. Browne, then, was writing *Religio Medici* about 1635.

excepting one. During the period 1605–1635 all the kings of Europe had died except one—Christian IV of Denmark.

have seen: i.e. I have seen. See note to "But commend," just above.

the Ashes. Strict construction demands *the ashes of*.

three Emperours: i.e. German Emperors—Rudolph II, Matthias, and Ferdinand II.

four Grand Signiours: four Sultans of Turkey—Ahmed I, Mustafa I, Osman II, and Murad IV. See p. 24.

as many Popes. Browne was contemporary, not with four Popes, but with three—Paul V, Gregory XV, and Urban VIII. But he seems to include also Leo XI, who held the papacy for a few weeks in the spring of 1605, i.e. six months before Browne was born. To explain this, one editor has suggested that Browne made his computation in accordance with his view that "every man is some months elder than he bethinks him" (p. 55). But, in that case, Clement VIII, who preceded Leo, has a right to be counted. Perhaps Browne

simply blundered. For, as he says in the address "To the Reader," *Religio Medici* "was penned in such a place, and with such disadvantage, that (I protest), from the first setting of pen unto paper, I had not the assistance of any good book whereby to promote my invention or relieve my memory."

begin to be weary of the Sun. Compare Shakespeare, *Macbeth*, v. v. 49:

"I gin to be aweary of the sun."

shaken hands with delight. See p. 2. The early editions differ in the punctuation here. Some have a colon after "delight" and so connect the phrase "in my...days" with what follows. Others connect the phrase with the preceding statement "I have...delight." Either way gives good sense, but the former gives better balance and better antithesis between "warm blood" and "age.'

in my warm blood: in the days of my youth, when the blood is hot and the passions strong, I have all too soon the vices of old age. Compare *Christian Morals*, III. 8:

"Confound not the distinctions of thy Life which Nature hath divided, that is, Youth, Adolescence, Manhood, and old Age; nor in these divided Periods, wherein thou art in a manner Four, conceive thy self but One. Let every division be happy in its proper Virtues, nor one Vice run through all. Let each distinction have its salutary transition, and critically deliver thee from the imperfections of the former, so ordering the whole, that Prudence and Virtue may have the largest Section. Do as a Child but when thou art a Child, and ride not on a Reed at twenty. He who hath not taken leave of the follies of his Youth, and in his maturer state scarce got out of that division, disproportionately divideth his Days, crowds up the latter part of his Life, and leaves too narrow a corner for the Age of Wisdom, and so hath room to be a Man scarce longer than he hath been a Youth. Rather than to make this confusion, anticipate the Virtues of Age, and live long without the infirmities of it."

Canicular days: the days of Canicula, the dog-star, Sirius, the brightest star in the heavens, whose rising the Romans associated with the oppressive heat of summer. See *Pseud. Epidem.* IV. 13. We have connected the dog-days with madness in dogs.

the World...dream or mock-show: the world...dream or unreal pageant. See Shakespeare, *The Tempest*, IV. i., where,

after the pageant vanishes, Prospero prophesies the whole world

"...like the baseless fabric of this vision,
...shall dissolve,
And, like this insubstantial pageant faded,
Leave not a rack behind. We are such stuff
As dreams are made on."

Compare also, *As You Like It*, II. vii. 137 *sqq.*:

"*Duke Senior.* This wide and universal theatre
Presents more woeful pageants than the scene
Wherein we play in.
Jaques. All the world's a stage,
And all the men and women merely players:
...The sixth age shifts
Into the lean and slipper'd pantaloon."

The comparison of the world to a stage is universal. The Greeks had *σκηνὴ πᾶς ὁ βίος καὶ παίγνιον* and *ὁ κόσμος σκηνή, ὁ βίος πάροδος*. A fragment of Petronius says "quod fere totus mundus exerceat histrioniam (*v.* l. histrionem)." Boissard's *Theatrum Vitæ Humanæ* contains a picture representing a pageant of human woe, with the words

"Vita hominis tanquam circus vel grande theatrum."

Pantalones: pantaloons, dotards, old fools. The pantaloon was a character in Italian comedy, wearing slippers, spectacles, and a pouch, and invariably represented as old, lean, and gullible.

Anticks: buffoons, mountebanks, merry-andrews.

SECTION 42.

that age: thirty-three.

perfect state. See p. 55.

run on...retrograde hereafter: run onwards only to move backwards.

a point to be superannuated: a period of life when our years free us from the power of sin.

PAGE 59.

it were worthy our knees: it would be a worthy object to pray that we might live as long as Methuselah. See p. 27.

doth not rectifie, but incurvate: does not make straight but makes crooked. Compare *Christian Morals*, II. 6: "Men are commonly as they were; or rather, as bad dispositions run

into worser habits, the Evening doth not crown, but sowerly conclude the Day." This use of *rectifie* is now obsolete.

worser. Chaucer had *worse.* Then *er* was sometimes added by analogy, and both forms were found; e.g. in Thomas Tusser,

> "The ox-boy, as ill as he
> Or worser, if worse may be found."

Worser is still in use, but it is dialectal or colloquial.

pretence: claim.

acquireth: advances, increases—rare use of the word.

the last stands. In the series 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, the last is greater than any one of the preceding numbers.

Cicero's ground. The reference is to a passage, *De Senectute,* XXIII. 83 *sq.*, where Cato says if some god should grant him the boon of becoming a boy again, he would flatly refuse. One may have enough of life. He did not feel disposed to bewail life nor did he grieve that he had lived, since he had so lived that he considered that he had not been born in vain. "Non libet enim mihi deplorare vitam, quod multi et ei docti sæpe fecerunt, neque me vixisse pænitet, quoniam ita vixi, ut non frustra me natum existimem." Compare *Christian Morals,* III. 25: "Cicero in a prosperous state had not the patience to think of beginning in a cradle again."

confirmed...confirmed. The word in its first use means inveterate, habitual, chronic; in its second, firmly established, mature. See Introduction for this play of words.

vitiosity: state of being morally vicious. See p. 98.

makes. See Introduction.

I committed...an infant: the figure of antimetathesis. See p. 51.

I am yet an infant: since I cling to the sins of my youth, instead of following St Paul's example, 1 Corinthians xiii. 11: "when I was a child, I spake as a child, I understood as a child, I thought as a child: but when I became a man, I put away childish things."

Æsons Bath. Æson was the father of Jason, of Argonaut fame. According to Ovid (*Metamorphoses,* VII. 162 *sqq.*) Jason's wife Medea restored Æson's youth by boiling him in her enchanted caldron.

PAGE 60. SECTION 43.

produce: prolong, lengthen—obsolete sense.

able temper: strong, vigorous constitution. In this sense

able is obsolete. For *temper*, constitution, see pp. 52, 58, 71, 102.

radical humour: the humour (moisture), which, according to mediæval philosophy, was naturally inherent in all plants and animals. Its presence was a necessary condition of their vitality. Compare "radical heat," p. 44.

oyl: as for a lamp. The figure is continued by the word *light*.

radical balsome: an oily essence of a softly penetrative nature, a healthful preservative, which, according to Paracelsus, existed in all organic bodies. See p. 52.

glome: a clew or ball of thread or yarn. The word, which is from Latin *glomus*, is now obsolete.

bottome: a ball or skein of thread—now an obsolete usage except in some of the dialects. Raleigh, *History of the World*, II. 367, has: "He received from her [Ariadne] a bottome of thred." Greenhill gives an apposite quotation from one of George Herbert's letters: "I have always observed the thread of life to be like other threads or skeins of silk, full of snarles or incumbrances. Happy is he, whose bottom is wound up, and laid ready for work in New Jerusalem." The figure is continued below: "twines the thread of life." It occurs, p. 93: "cut the thred of his own days"; and p. 59: "begin again the thred of my days."

disputed: debated, contested, and so dubious, unintelligible.

Let them not therefore. Compare Ben Jonson in *Underwoods*:

> "It is not growing like a tree
> In bulk, doth make Man better be;
> Or standing long an oak, three hundred year,
> To fall a log at last, dry, bald, and sere:
> A lily of a day
> Is fairer far in May,
> Although it fall and die that night—
> It was the plant and flower of Light.
> In small proportions we just beauty's see;
> And in short measures life may perfect be";

and Drummond, *A Cypress Grove*:

"Days are not to be esteemed after the number of them, but after the goodness. More compass maketh not a ring more complete, but as round is a little as a large ring; nor is that musician more praiseworthy who hath longest played, but he in measured accents who hath made sweetest melody. To live long hath often been a let to live well."

M.

must not expect: must not look forward to continuing till it is worn out, till it dies of old age.

the last and general fever: the conflagration of the world.

six thousand. See p. 64.

Antipathies: contrarieties of nature, incompatibilities—obsolete usage. *O.E.D.* quotes from Bentley: "When occult quality, and sympathy and antipathy were admitted for satisfactory explications of things."

occult qualities: qualities invisible to direct observation but discoverable by experiment; or qualities of an unknown (or unexplained) nature.

pensil: obsolete spelling of *pencil.*

Section 44.

Lucan. See p. 57. The verses are from *Pharsalia,* IV. 519 *sq.*

Page 61.

construe: analyse the grammatical construction, adding a word-for-word translation.

There be many excellent strains. *Be* is here indicative mood. It was for centuries the regular plural of the present indicative in Southern and Midland English. In the sixteenth century *are* (from the Northern dialect) appeared in Standard English. *Be,* however, held its place alongside of *are* in Elizabethan and later English. In the A.V. translation of the Bible, we find: "Thy sins are forgiven thee," Luke v. 20, and "Thy sins be forgiven thee," Matthew ix. 2 and 5; Mark ii. 5. The R.V. has *are* in all. Standard English retains indicative *be* as an archaism and in certain phrases; but in several dialects it is still common.

singular pieces. See p. 34.

Zeno: a native of Cyprus (342–270 B.C.) and the founder of the Stoic school of philosophy.

are they in extreams: they go to great lengths, hold extreme opinions.

allow: admit as lawful, sanction. Compare p. 57.

suicide. This is an earlier example of the word than the earliest, 1651, in *O.E.D.* Before and after the word *suicide* was current, we find *self-murder, self-slaughter, self-destroying, self-killing, self-destruction. Homicide* has this sense on p. 39. In 1624 *Self-Homicide* appears in the title of Donne's *βιαθάνατος.*

Cato: the younger, or Cato Uticensis, great-grandson of

Cato the Censor, stubbornly opposed Cæsar in defence of the old Republic. After the defeat at Pharsalia, Cato committed suicide at Utica. For two centuries Cato's act was praised and imitated in Rome. See Horace, *Odes*, I. xii. 35 *sq.* ("Catonis nobile letum"), and elsewhere; and Seneca. Ben Jonson, *Sejanus*, I. i. says:

> "Where is now the Soul
> Of god-like Cato—he, that durst be good
> When Cæsar durst be evil, and had power,
> As not to live his slave, to die his master."

Shakespeare, following Plutarch, makes Brutus (*Julius Cæsar*, V. i. 101 *sqq.*) censure Cato's suicide:

> "Even by the rule of that philosophy
> By which I did blame Cato for the death
> Which he did give himself:—I know not how,
> But I do find it cowardly and vile,
> For fear of what might fall, so to prevent
> The time of life."

this is indeed not to fear death. Compare *Letter to a Friend*, XXVI:

"Not to be content with Life is the unsatisfactory state of those which destroy themselves; who being afraid to live, run blindly upon their own Death, which no Man fears by Experience: and the Stoicks had a notable Doctrine to take away the fear thereof; that is, In such extremities to desire that which is not to be avoided, and wish what might be feared; and so made Evils voluntary and to suit with their own Desires, which took off the terror of them."

See passage from same *Letter*, quoted in note to "defie death," p. 55.

Curtius. In B.C. 362 a huge chasm appeared in the Roman forum, which, as the soothsayers averred, only Rome's noblest treasure could fill. Curtius, in full armour, mounted his horse, and, declaring Rome's noblest treasure to be a valiant citizen, leaped into the abyss.

Scevola. C. Mucius Scævola failing in an attempt to assassinate Porsena, the Etruscan king, when Rome was besieged, thrust his right hand into the altar-fire to show that no torture could appal him. Hence came his designation *Scævola*, a diminutive of *Scæva*, a left-handed man. See quotation from *Christian Morals* in note to "Souldiers," p. 38.

Codrus. In the eleventh century B.C. war raged between the Athenians and the Dorians. The oracle announced victory

to the side whose king should fall. Codrus, in disguise, entered the Dorian camp, picked a quarrel with some soldiers, and was killed—"pro patria non timidus mori" (Horace, *Odes*, III. xix. 2).

Job: the man of integrity, whose pious resignation under loss of wealth and children, and brave bearing of bodily torment made him the type of patience. See Job i. and ii.

to the rack. *To* in the sense of in comparison with, as compared to, occurs also on p. 90, "to the scandal."

Emori nolo. This line, with *æstimo* instead of *curo*, is found in Cicero, *Tuscul. Disput.* I. viii. 15, as the translation of a saying of Epicharmus.

go off at one blow: alluding to what Suetonius tells of Cæsar's desire for a sudden and unexpected death (*Julius Cæsar*, 87).

an appurtenance: a necessary, unfailing accompaniment, something that belongs to it by right. See p. 40.

PAGE 62.

Fabrick: the human body. So p. 52.

the thousand doors. Compare Massinger, *A Very Woman*, v. iv.:

> "Death hath a thousand doors to let out life."

In a letter of September 15, 1681, Browne says: "We come into the world one way, there are many gates to go out of it." See below, note to "deprive us of death."

beholding: under obligation, indebted—obsolete usage. This sense began in a mistake for *beholden*. It is very frequent in Shakespeare (as *Merchant of Venice*, I. iii. 106; *Richard II*, IV. i. 160), and other seventeenth-century writers.

to deprive us of death. Compare Seneca, *Thebais* (*Phœnissæ*), 152 *sq.*:

> "Eripere vitam nemo non homini potest,
> At nemo mortem: mille ad hanc aditus patent."

Everyone can snatch away life from a man, nobody can deprive him of death: to it a thousand avenues lie open.

God would not. In this obscure sentence, it is best to follow Wilkin and put a semi-colon after *from that*. Then the interpretation will be: "God would not exempt himself from that [viz. from death, when he became flesh]; the misery of immortality in the flesh, he undertook not that [=who] was immortal." The old myth of Tithonus reveals one form of "the misery of immortality in the flesh." See Tennyson's *Tithonus*.

this circle of flesh: the human body. See p. 52.

Opticks: visual power (or optic nerve). Compare *Christian Morals*, III. 15: "Behold thy self by inward Opticks and the Crystalline of thy Soul." Both these meanings of *opticks* are now obsolete.

the first day of our Jubilee. Death begins our time of rejoicing.

of his desires: to cause man to sin, and so become liable to death and all its woes.

in himself: in the Devil.

the Stoick is in the right: in believing (like Cato) that he may escape from intolerable ills by suicide.

He forgets...who complains: the man (i.e. any one) who complains, forgets.

in our own: in our own power. For, as Browne says above, "it is not in the strongest to deprive us of death."

SECTION 45.

Divines: Theologians.

mortification: subjection, by religious or other discipline, of carnal affections, bodily appetites, and worldly desires.

dying...World. See Romans vi. 2, 11; vii. 4; Galatians vi. 14; Colossians iii. 5; 1 Peter ii. 24. *Die unto* means to cease to be under the influence of.

Horoscope. See p. 13.

PAGE 63.

from this: from baptism, when first "I was my Saviours, and inrolled in the Register of Christ," i.e. the list of baptised persons. See p. 57.

Horæ combustæ: the name given by mediæval astrologers to the time when the moon, or any of the planets, is in conjunction, and obscured by the sun. Here it means the period before birth, when one is invisible though in life. See p. 55.

odd days: the few days between birth and baptism.

this life: "in the Register of Christ."

apparition: a shape, an appearance without reality.

sensible affections: visible, perceptible qualities or properties.

In these moral acceptions: from this ethical standpoint. *Acceptions* in the sense of acceptations occurs also on p. 51.

to dye daily: to suffer the pains of death, to face death. The phrase comes from 1 Corinthians xv. 31.

vulgar imaginations: common ideas, prevalent notions.

Memento mori: Remember thou must die.

Memento quatuor Novissima: Remember the four last things, i.e. the four points of Christian eschatology, or doctrine of the last things.

rest in their graves: halt, stop, cease to go on. They did not regard the grave as the end.

Rhadamanth. Rhadamanthus, Minos and Æacus were in Greek mythology, judges in the underworld.

Sibyl. Probably Browne has in mind the Sibylline prophecy referred to in Thomas of Celano's Hymn (used in the Roman Catholic service of commemoration for the faithful dead) which begins:

> "Dies iræ, dies illa,
> Solvet sæclum in favilla,
> Teste David cum Sibylla."

Lucan. See p. 57. The verses are from *Pharsalia*, VII. 814 *sq*. Lucan as a Stoic would know the Stoic belief that there would be periodical conflagrations of the world, after each of which the process of development would begin afresh. See Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, II. xlvi. 118, with Mayor's notes.

neither old nor decayed. See p. 60.

upon the ruines: in consequence of the destruction of its primordial elements.

its adversary: its opposite and opponent. Creation, making things out of nothing, has its antithesis in annihilation, reducing matter to nothing. See p. 60. Without annihilation, the world would not perish, but only change.

Page 64.

Some believe: St Augustine, for example.

those six days so punctually described: in Genesis i. *Punctually* means precisely, minutely, in detail—obsolete or archaic. See *punctual*, p. 33.

of the intellect. The manuscripts read *in the intellect*, which expresses the meaning more clearly.

calling to the Bar: summoning to the railing in front of the judge's seat, where the person on trial stands. See "called to the Bar," p. 31; and compare *Christian Morals*, I. 22: "There is a natural standing Court within us, examining, acquitting, and condemning at the Tribunal of our selves, wherein iniquities have their natural Theta's, and no nocent is absolved by the verdict of himself. And therefore, although our trans-

gressions shall be tryed at the last bar, the process need not be long; for the Judge of all knoweth all, and every Man will nakedly know himself; and when so few are like to plead *not Guilty*, the Assize must soon have an end."

as indeed the Scripture: Acts xvii. 31; Romans xiv. 10; 2 Corinthians v. 10; Revelation xx. 12; and elsewhere.

unspeakable: ineffable, too great for words.

a vulgar and illustrative way: by illustrations, pictorially, to suit the mass of mankind, adapted to ordinary minds.

stand firm with: be quite in accordance with, not be at variance with.

each single edification: to the edification of each one separately.

Section 46.

this inevitable time: the end of the world.

convincible and statute-madness: madness capable of proof (demonstration), and defined by statute.

Elias 6000 years: i.e. "the old Tradition that the World should last six thousand years," *Christian Morals*, III. 29. See also p. 60. In *Pseud. Epidem.* VI. 1, Browne states that Greek authorities regard 5501 years as having elapsed between the Creation and the birth of Christ. "Now according unto these Chronologists, the Prophecy of Elias the Rabbin, so much in request with the Jews, and in some credit also with Christians, that the world should last six thousand years; unto these I say, it hath been long and out of memory disproved, for the Sabbatical and 7000 year wherein the world should end (as did the Creation on the seventh day) unto them is long ago expired; they are proceeding in the eight thousand year..."

a Rabbi: a Jewish doctor of the law. See pp. 31, 43.

God hath denyed: as in Matthew xxiv. 36: "But of that day and hour knoweth no man, no, not the angels of heaven, but my Father only."

Quære. See p. 28.

posed: puzzled, nonplussed. See pp. 11, 40.

the Devil of Delphos: the oracle at Delphi. See pp. 16, 41.

amphibology: quibble, ambiguous wording. Oracular responses were frequently ambiguous. Crœsus (according to Herodotus, I. 53, 91) was told by the Delphic oracle that if he made war on the Persians he would destroy a great empire. He made war, and ruined his own empire, not the Persian. When he upbraided the oracle, he was answered that he himself

was to blame for the misunderstanding. Browne discusses the responses to Crœsus in *Pseud. Epidem.* VII. 12, and in *Miscellany Tracts*, XI. Another amphibology is the oracle (mentioned by Cicero, *De Divinatione*, II. lvi. 116) "Aio te, Æacida, Romanos vincere posse."

PAGE 65.

fulfil old prophecies. Browne adds a note, in which he slily ridicules the "Astrologers" and the "melancholy heads" —"In those days there shall come lyars and false prophets." Browne was most likely alluding to Matthew xxiv. 11 and 24; Mark xiii. 22; 2 Timothy iii. 1 *sq.*

Wars and rumours of Wars: Matthew xxiv. 6: "And ye shall hear of wars and rumours of wars."

signs in the Moon: Luke xxi. 25: "And there shall be signs in the sun, and in the moon, and in the stars."

like a Thief: 1 Thessalonians v. 2: "the day of the Lord so cometh as a thief in the night"; and Revelation xvi. 15: "Behold, I come as a thief."

an item: a hint, an intimation. The word has still this sense in the dialects. The Latin *item* = in like manner, moreover, was used in English to introduce new statements. Then the word was transferred to the statement itself. Hence, it came to mean something with a particular bearing, a hint. So in Bunyan, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, Part II: "He that lives in such a place as this is [Vanity Fair]...has need of an Item, to caution him to take heed every moment of the day."

Antichrist: whose appearance was to herald the second coming of Christ, was identified with the Beast of Revelation xiii, of whom we read, verse 18: "Let him that hath understanding count the number of the beast: for it is the number of a man; and his number is Six hundred threescore and six." In Greek and in Hebrew letters indicate numbers. Consequently, a man's name has a numerical equivalent, i.e. the sum of the values of the separate letters. When Browne says "He (Antichrist) hath been come these many years," he refers to those computations of 666 by which the Papal power, or the Pope, was held proved to be Antichrist. With equal confidence Mohammed, Napoleon Bonaparte, and many more have been discovered in the number of the Beast. The best solution is that the reference in Revelation is to the Roman Emperor Nero. See pp. 6, 43.

compute: computation, reckoning—rare word; now usually in the phrase, "beyond compute."

the Philosophers stone: an insoluble mystery. See p. 56. Browne means that as the philosophers' stone was the *ignis fatuus* of alchemists, long sought for, often believed to be found, but always eluding the grasp, so in theology is the search for Antichrist.

discovery and invention: are here synonymous. *Invention* in this sense is now obsolete.

probable: based on sufficient grounds. See p. 32.

cannot escape that lingring expostulation: cannot help uttering, must cry aloud: "Why is the coming of the Lord delayed?" Note that *lingring* is not a mere epithet but denotes the cause of the "expostulation." Similarly "charitable inducements," p. 9. Compare Shakespeare, *As You Like It*, II. vii. 132:

"Oppress'd with two weak evils, age and hunger";

where *weak* = causing weakness. Other instances are *Richard II*, I. i. 191, "such feeble wrong"; *Henry VIII*, I. ii. 95, "a trembling contribution"; *Julius Cæsar*, I. ii. 9, "their sterile curse"; and Milton, *Paradise Lost*, VIII. 423, "his single imperfection."

under the Altar: Revelation vi. 9 *sq.*:

"I saw under the altar the souls of them that were slain for the word of God, and for the testimony which they held:

And they cried with a loud voice, saying, How long, O Lord, holy and true, dost thou not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth?"

Compare *Christian Morals*, III. 26:

"However therefore the Wisdom of the Creator hath ordered the duration of the World, yet since the end thereof brings the accomplishment of our happiness, since some would be content that it should have no end, since evil Men and Spirits do fear it may be too short, since good Men hope it may not be too long; the prayer of the Saints under the Altar will be the supplication of the Righteous World—that his mercy would abridge their languishing Expectation and hasten the accomplishment of their happy state to come."

Page 66. Section 47.

respective: discriminating, partial—obsolete meaning. So Shakespeare, *Romeo and Juliet*, III. i. 128:

"Away to heaven, respective lenity!"

recompensive Justice: justice that recompenses, makes up for inequalities. *Recompensive* is obsolete. This is the only example given in *O.E.D.*

Catastrophe: the *dénouement.*

whose memory: the remembrance of which, i.e. the remembering, the bearing in mind that the Day of Judgment will certainly come.

Ipsa sui pretium. Compare Claudian, *De Consulatu Mallii Theodori,* v. 1:

"Ipsa quidem virtus pretium sibi";

Silius Italicus, *Punica,* XIII. 663:

"Ipsa quidem virtus sibimet pulcherrima merces";

and Seneca, *Epistles,* LXXXI.: "Recte facti fecisse merces est."

a cold principle: not inspiring, without power to move or influence.

that honest artifice of Seneca. The device is to select some good man and imagine that one is always under his eye (Seneca, *Epistles,* XI. and XXV.). See p. 30.

dear and worthiest: i.e. dearest and worthiest. We often find the inflection of comparison attached to one adjective and understood with the other. See p. 82. Compare Shakespeare, *Measure for Measure,* IV. vi. 13:

"The generous and gravest citizens";

and *Merchant of Venice,* III. ii. 295 *sq.*:

"The best condition'd and unwearied spirit
In doing courtesies."

vitious: a common variant for *vicious,* from sixteenth century to early nineteenth.

moral honesty: upright conduct such as would be demanded by his friends, i.e. social morality as independent of religion.

of his: i.e. of Seneca's. See Keck's quotation from Thomas Aquinas, where Seneca declares that the very baseness of sin would make him blush to commit it even if the gods would pardon him and men should never know that he had sinned.

without a livery: without a fee or reward. This meaning is from the use of *livery* in the sense of food, clothing, etc., given to retainers. *O.E.D.* quotes from Brooks (1670): "They serve God for a livery, for loaves, and not for love."

venerable: reverent, reverential—obsolete usage.

upon any easie temptation: any temptation readily yielded to, i.e. difficult to resist. The 1682 edition has *easie* alone. Another reading is *an easie.*

a stable apprehension: a fixed, unswerving belief.

without this: belief in the resurrection and the life everlasting. Compare 1 Corinthians XV. 13–19.

Lucian. See p. 29.

Euripides: one of the three famous tragic poets of Greece, 480–406 B.C. He attacked the popular mythology of his time, but to accuse him of atheism is unjust.

Julian: Roman Emperor, 361–363 A.D., the Apostate, because he gave up Christianity and accepted paganism. The Christian writers regarded him as a monster of impiety and wickedness.

PAGE 67. SECTION 48.

How shall the dead arise. Compare 1 Corinthians xv. 35: "But some man will say, How are the dead raised up? and with what body do they come?"

is not Faith. See p. 11: "for to credit ordinary and visible objects, is not faith, but perswasion."

inducible: capable of being inferred—obsolete usage. The only two examples in *O.E.D.* are both from Browne.

confirmable: capable of confirmation, of being verified.

demonstrative: serving to show forth logically. See p. 47.

the conversion: the turning. So p. 20.

estranged: separated, removed from former union—archaic sense.

predestinate: fore-ordained, destined beforehand. See pp. 18, 24.

confused mass: chaos.

fruitful: producing results, effective. God speaks and it is done.

corrupted reliques: what is left after the decomposition of the dead bodies.

Wilderness: unlimited number. Compare Shakespeare, *Merchant of Venice*, III. i. 123 *sqq.*:

"*Tubal.* One of them showed me a ring that he had of your daughter for a monkey.

Shylock. ...it was my turquoise; I had it of Leah when I was a bachelor: I would not have given it for a wilderness of monkeys."

So Charles Lamb, *Essays of Elia*, "Old China," speaks of "a wilderness of Leonardos."

their proper habits: their characteristic figures.

by their single individuals: singly, individually, one by one.

PAGE 68.

dilated: expanded, multiplied.

resurrection and revivification. Note the antithesis be-

tween those words and *mortified*. In old chemistry *to mortify* meant to alter or destroy the outward form, e.g. by dissolving mercury in an acid menstruum, while *revivification* meant the restoration of the mercury to its original state.

numerical: particular, individual. See p. 47. Compare Butler, *Hudibras*, II. i. 149 *sq.*:

> "The beard's th' identic beard you knew,
> The same numerically true."

naturally: as naturalists. Browne uses *naturals* to mean naturalists (*Miscellany Tracts*). Compare the adjective *natural* of nature as a scientific study.

sensible corruptions: those cases of perceptible decomposition, or dissolution—obsolete sense of *corruption*.

mansions: dwelling-places. See p. 49.

Antagonist: whatever would destroy them, as fire is the antagonist of a plant, "that devouring element."

to a contemplative. The 1682 edition reads *by*.

a sensible Artist. *Sensible* has here the meaning of endowed with sense, with intellect, with judgment. *Artist* has the obsolete meaning of a practical man, as opposed to a mere theorist, "a contemplative and school-Philosopher."

experience: trial, experiment—obsolete usage.

revive the plant. This is palingenesis, which was much discussed and experimented on in Browne's day. See Wilkin's note, Bohn's edit. II. 396 *sqq*.

sensible: having the faculty of sensation. "Sensible structures" are human bodies with the faculty of sensation, contrasted with plants, "inferiour pieces."

Ezekiel: who "in the spirit of the Lord" was carried to the valley full of dry bones. To these he was commanded to speak. Sinews, and flesh, and skin came upon them. Last of all, "the breath came into them, and they lived, and stood up upon their feet, an exceeding great army." Ezekiel xxxvii. 1–10.

Section 49.

necessary Mansions: destined, inevitable dwelling-places. See p. 87.

Page 69.

That elegant Apostle: refined and polished in style. Some think this epithet inappropriate to St Paul; several are inclined to favour a change to *eloquent*. The Latin translator has *eloquentissimus*. But, however much we may regard *elegant*

as strange, Browne evidently meant it. In *The Garden of Cyrus*, I, he calls Cicero "the most elegant of the Latins," and Herodotus "very elegant" in *Pseud. Epidem.* I. 8. From *O.E.D.* we discover that it was in regular use to designate not only words, books, poems showing grace and refinement but also authors characterised by refinement and polish of style. Milton in 1641 speaks of "the elegantest Authors among the Greeks," and Comber in 1672–5 calls Chrysostom "this Elegant Father." Steele (*The Spectator*, No. 114) refers to Thomas Sprat as "the elegant Author."

a glimpse of Heaven. See 2 Corinthians xii. 2 *sqq.*:

"I knew a man in Christ above fourteen years ago, (whether in the body, I cannot tell; or whether out of the body, I cannot tell: God knoweth;) such an one caught up to the third heaven.

And I knew such a man, (whether in the body, or out of the body, I cannot tell: God knoweth;)

How that he was caught up into paradise, and heard unspeakable words, which it is not lawful for a man to utter."

which neither eye: adapted from 1 Corinthians ii. 9.

translated: carried out of himself, transported by intense feeling.

St. John's description: Revelation xxi. 18 *sqq.*

Emerals. Note the loss of *d*. The non-pronunciation of final consonants, especially *t*, *d*, "seems to have been a common practice among all classes far into the eighteenth century. Most of these final consonants have now been restored in the usage of educated speech." Wyld, *Modern Colloquial English*, p. 303.

the material Heaven: the sky with its sun, moon and stars. Therefore far more weak to express the spiritual heaven.

complement: fulness, completeness. See pp. 56, 71.

that essence: being, i.e. God.

unsatiable: not to be satisfied.

ours: i.e. ourselves.

this sensible world: this world perceived by our senses.

St. Paul. See quotation in note on "a glimpse of Heaven," just above.

the Empyreal: the Empyrean, the highest heaven. This word, here substantival, is usually adjectival, as three lines below.

the tenth sphear. See note on "the first moveable," p. 49.

a quasi vacuity: a sort of vacuity, or cosmic space void of matter. See note on "Aristotle's Philosophy," p. 70.

Page 70.

that happy vision: the beatifical vision, the immediate vision of God, vouchsafed to the blessed dead. See quotation in note on "in our glorified eyes," just below.

all the learning: Acts vii. 22: "And Moses was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians." See p. 49.

to see God: "I beseech thee, shew me thy glory," Exodus xxxiii. 18. See p. 16.

to a contradiction: i.e. of truth.

vicinity: nearness, proximity.

upon consequence. See pp. 10, 42.

the Parable: Luke xvi. 19 *sqq*.

grosly: materially.

perspective: optical instrument, spyglass, telescope—obsolete usage. Readers of *Robinson Crusoe* will remember how often perspective glass is mentioned.

in our glorified eyes. Compare *Christian Morals*, III. 15:

"In the City of the new Jerusalem there is neither Sun nor Moon; where glorifyed Eyes must see by the archetypal Sun, or the Light of God, able to illuminate Intellectual Eyes, and make unknown Visions. Intuitive perceptions in Spiritual beings may perhaps hold some Analogy unto Vision: but yet how they see us, or one another, what Eye, what Light, or what perception is required unto their intuition, is yet dark unto our apprehension; and even how they see God, or how unto our glorified Eyes the Beatifical Vision will be celebrated, another World must tell us, when perceptions will be new, and we may hope to behold invisibles."

visible species. In the seventeenth century *species* was used in a meaning now obsolete, viz. an emanation from outward things ("the visible rays of the object," as Browne says below) which formed the direct object of perception. Here *visible* indicates the particular sense affected. See p. 92.

as unlimitable...intellectual. In Heaven we may find no bounds to what we can see, just as on earth our minds apprehend without limitation of time and space. This use of *intellectual*, apprehended by the intellect as opposed to perceived by the senses, is now obsolete.

beyond the tenth sphear: in the empyrean, the highest heaven. See p. 49, note to "the first moveable."

Aristotle's Philosophy: in *De Cælo*, where (I. ix. 279*a*) Aristotle declares it manifest that no vacuum exists outside of heaven: *ἅμα δὲ δῆλον ὅτι οὐδὲ τόπος οὐδὲ κενὸν οὐδὲ χρόνος ἐστὶν ἔξω τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.*

defect: want, absence.

dispose: put into a proper state.

make all good: make up for, supply the deficiency.

a more absolute piece of opticks: a more perfect type of visual power.

Section 50.

the essence: the essential principle, that which makes it what it is.

in the Scriptures: Revelation xxi. 8: "the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone." Topheth and the Valley of Hinnom, as well as Sodom, supplied the New Testament imagery of Hell.

Page 71.

complement. See p. 69.

textuary: learned in the text and therefore authoritative. Compare *Christian Morals*, III. 21: "Let Pythagoras be thy Remembrancer, not thy textuary and final Instructor."

specifical: precise, particular. This form is now rare, and has given way to *specific*. See p. 47.

make good: prove to be true, demonstrate the truth of.

material World: this world of matter, the "mundus."

persist invincible: continue or remain unsubdued— obsolete usage of *persist*.

liquation: liquefying, melting.

Moses: Exodus xxxii. 20, where we read, not that Moses burnt the calf to powder, but that he "burnt it in the fire, and ground it to powder."

calcin'd: reduced by burning to a calx or crumbly substance.

solary: of the nature of the sun. In *Letter to a Friend*, XXXV., Browne terms gold "that terrestrial Sun." The alchemists gave the names of heavenly bodies to various metals. See Chaucer, *Chanouns Yemannes Tale*, 273 *sqq.*:

> "Sol gold is, and Luna silver we threpe,
> Mars yren, Mercurie quik-silver we clepe,
> Saturnus leed, and Iupiter is tin,
> And Venus coper, by my fader kyn."

temper: state, condition.

spoiled: despoiled, deprived—archaic usage.

opinioned: held as an opinion, believed in. See p. 33.

by fire: as the Stoics. Compare *Letter to a Friend*, VI.: "And therefore the Stoicks could not but think that the firy Principle would wear out all the rest, and at last make an end of the world." See p. 63.

PAGE **72.**

Chymicks: chemists—obsolete usage, common in seventeenth century.

christallized: changed into crystal—obsolete meaning. The spelling is also obsolete. *O.E.D.* says that the erroneous spelling with *chr-* became frequent in the sixteenth century.

reverberated: treated in a reverberatory furnace, where the heat is reverberated or beaten back upon the substance in the furnace.

our glorified selves. See p. 70, "in our glorified eyes," with note.

there exists. See Introduction.

in posse: potentially, with the capacity of existing, as contrasted with *in esse*, actually existent.

to the understanding. See p. 70.

that little compendium: man; for his is a microcosm and was created on the sixth day.

SECTION **51.**

by fire: based on such passages as Matthew v. 22; xiii. 42; xxv. 41, 46; Mark ix. 43, 44; Luke xvi. 23, 24. Sometimes the torture of cold was imagined.

in the same method: in terms of earthly torments, as Mohammed described the bliss of heaven in terms of earthly delights.

drums: sounds loudly, sounds like the beating of a drum.

in diameter with: diametrically opposed, at the furthest distance from. See p. 2.

that translated...colony: that portion of the divine nature transferred to earth, that colony, whose motherland is with God in heaven. See p. 56.

PAGE **73.**

purlue: haunt. *Walk* and *purlue* are here synonymous. "Wit has its walks and its purlieus," says Swift, Preface to *A Tale of a Tub.*

about it: about the earth. See 1 Peter v. 8: "Be sober, be vigilant; because your adversary the devil, as a roaring lion, walketh about, seeking whom he may devour." Compare Burns, *Address to the Deil*, IV.:

> "Whyles, ranging like a roarin' lion,
> For prey a' holes an' corners tryin';
> Whyles, on the strong-wing'd tempest flyin',
> Tirlin' the kirks;
> Whyles, in the human bosom pryin',
> Unseen thou lurks."

popularly: in the style of the people, to suit ordinary minds.

those flaming mountains: Etna and Vesuvius, according to Italian superstition.

Lucifer keeps his Court. See p. 10.

Legion: i.e. of devils. The allusion is to the story of the Gadarene demoniac, Luke viii. 30: "And Jesus asked him, saying, What is thy name? And he said, Legion: because many devils were entered into him." Compare p. 105, with note.

Anaxagoras. On the ground that Anaxagoras maintained one world, Keck considered this a misprint for *Anaxarchus*. There is, however, no reason for believing that Browne did not mean to write *Anaxagoras*.

conceited: imagined.

Magdalene: Luke viii. 2.

an Hell unto himself. This idea is expressed more than once by Milton in *Paradise Lost*, as I. 254 *sq.*:

> "The mind is its own place, and in itself
> Can make a Heaven of Hell, a Hell of Heaven";

IV. 20 *sqq.*:

> "for within him Hell
> He brings, and round about him, nor from Hell
> One step, no more than from himself, can fly
> By change of place";

ibid. 75:

> "Which way I fly is Hell; myself am Hell."

See Verity's notes on these passages.

ubi: i.e. where he is, because he brings it with him in himself. For *ubi*, see p. 56.

circumference: surroundings, environment.

shadow: type, faint representation, adumbration. See pp. 12, 102. Compare Hebrews viii. 5: "the example and shadow of heavenly things"; and x. 1: "For the law having a shadow of good things to come, and not the very image of the things...."

impassible: not subject to suffering.

Section 52.

and with joy. So the four earliest editions. The 1682 edition and others have "that with joy," which seems less good.

I fear God, yet am not afraid of Him. Note the epigram. *Fear* has the meaning of revere, have a reverential awe of. In this sense it is now used only with the name of God.

Judgements afraid. Understand *make me* before the word *afraid*.

Page 74.

other Mercenaries: others, i.e. mercenaries. This is an obsolete usage, in which *other* denotes something different in kind from what has just been mentioned. A modern writer would omit *other*, since its presence would imply that the first mentioned were included in the second. *O.E.D.* gives instances of the obsolete usage from the fourteenth to the end of the seventeenth century. See Shakespeare, *Macbeth*, IV. iii. 89 *sq.*:

> "All these [evil qualities] are portable
> With other graces weigh'd."

In A.V. the original form of Luke xxiii. 32 was:

"And there were also two other malefactors led with him [Jesus], to bee put to death."

Subsequently, when the usage was forgotten, this was changed to "other, malefactors"; and *other* was considered, not the adjective, but the old plural of the substantive. Later came "others, malefactors," which R.V. has adopted.

Parallels of the old usage are found in other languages. For Greek, see Plato, *Gorgias*, 473 D:

> ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ξένων,

and Xenophon, *Anabasis*, I. 5, 5:

> οὐ γὰρ ἦν χόρτος οὐδὲ ἄλλο οὐδὲν δένδρον.

For Latin, see Livy, IV. 41:

> "eo missa plaustra iumentaque alia."

Compare "nous autres Français" in French, and "voi altri Inglesi" in Italian.

crouch unto him in fear of Hell. Compare Burns, *Epistle to a Young Friend*, VIII.:

> "The fear o' Hell's a hangman's whip
> To haud the wretch in order."

Section 53.

speak my soul: utter frankly and without reserve my inmost thoughts.

abyss: unfathomable gulf; a gulf, therefore, able to contain an infinite amount. Hence its use here of the limitless mercies of God. *Mass* is synonymous with it = a huge amount, a bewildering abundance.

prejudice: bias, leaning.

inverting: reversing, transforming.

conceit: idea.

in event: in their result or outcome, in effect.

dissembled: in disguise—obsolete meaning.
dispute and argue: discuss and reason about.
distinguish...into mercies: classify as mercies.

PAGE 75.

Murther. This, the original form of *murder*, is now dialectal or archaic.

mortal: entailing spiritual death.

Damnation: eternal punishment in hell.

traverse and pass them over. *Traverse* is pass over, physically; but here (perhaps nowhere else) it has the figurative sense of *pass over* = let go unpunished, overlook, not consider a heinous sin and so punish merely with loss, etc. Compare Proverbs xix. 11: "The discretion of a man deferreth his anger; and it is his glory to pass over a transgression."

extremity of mercy: utmost degree of mercy.

accidental: non-essential, not necessarily present, incidental.

disproportionably disposed: disproportionately arranged, or assigned.

the one: i.e. Heaven.

the other...demerits: i.e. Hell, being infinitely less than our demerits should receive.

SECTION 54.

apprehend the ends: fear the ultimate state.
those honest Worthies: famous men, noble heroes.

PAGE 76.

Limbo: a term of Roman Catholic theology. Besides the three great divisions of the after-world—Paradise, Purgatory, Hell—several borderlands were conceived, each called by the Latin name *Limbus*, fringe. In the *Limbus Patrum* the saints who had died before Christ's coming, waited the resurrection. The *Limbus Infantum* was for the souls of unbaptised infants. Popular belief added a *Limbus Fatuorum*, the Fools' Paradise. Like Browne, Dante commiserated the fate of the "honest Worthies and Philosophers" of the past, whose only crime was ignorance of Christ; and he placed them (see *Hydriotaphia*, 4) in the first Circle of Hell. Having lived virtuously, they did not suffer; but, through lack of baptism, they were excluded from Paradise. There were Homer, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Seneca, Euclid, Hector, Antigone, Lucretia, Saladin, Galen, Avicen, Averroes, and others. See *Inferno*, IV.; and compare *Purgatorio*, VII. XXII.

fictions...Furies: as the myths in Homer, Hesiod, Æschylus and others about Tartarus, where the wicked were punished, and about the avenging goddesses—the Eumenides, Erinyes, of the Greeks; the Furiæ, Diræ, of the Romans.

suffer for him: 1 Corinthians xv. 22: "For as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive"; and Romans v. 12: "Wherefore, as by one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin; and so death passed upon all men...."

derive their genealogy from the Gods. Æsculapius was the reputed son of Apollo, Romulus of Mars, Æneas of Aphrodite.

incomprehensible: illimitable, boundless—archaic sense.

perpend: ponder, consider—now archaic. Shakespeare uses it as an affectation to be put into the mouths of Touchstone (*As You Like It*, III. ii. 69), the Clown (*Twelfth Night*, v. i. 307), Pistol (*Henry V*, IV. iv. 8), and Polonius (*Hamlet*, II. ii. 105).

Shall the Vessel. These words, which do not make a formal simile, are adapted from Romans ix. 20 and 21:

"Nay but, O man, who art thou that repliest against God? Shall the thing formed say to him that formed it, Why hast thou made me thus?

Hath not the potter power over the clay, of the same lump to make one vessel unto honour, and another unto dishonour?"

argue: call in question, impeach, arraign—obsolete meaning.

definitive: decisive, final. See p. 14.

these great examples: i.e. "those honest Worthies and Philosophers," mentioned above.

make it good: demonstrate, prove.

Section 55.

Nor truely do. Great is the difficulty of practising what one preaches. See Shakespeare, *Merchant of Venice*, I. ii. 13 *sqq.*: "If to do were as easy as to know what were good to do, chapels had been churches, and poor men's cottages princes' palaces. It is a good divine that follows his own instructions: I can easier teach twenty what were good to be done, than be one of the twenty to follow mine own teaching."

Page 77.

Aristotle: was charged with vanity in dress, ingratitude towards Plato, and so on. See p. 37.

condemn passion: denounce emotion, hold that emotion should be suppressed.

Phalaris his Bull. Phalaris, tyrant of Agrigentum, had a brazen bull, in which he roasted men alive. He belonged to the sixth century B.C.

could not endure. See Horace, *Epistles*, I. i. *ad finem*:

"To conclude, the [Stoic] philosopher is inferior to Jove alone: he is wealthy, free, in high office, fair; in short, king of kings; above all, sound in health—except when a cold in the head troubles him."

Compare Shakespeare, *Much Ado about Nothing*, V. i. 35 *sqq.*:

"For there was never yet philosopher
That could endure the toothache patiently,
However they have writ the style of gods
And made a push at chance and sufferance."

The Scepticks: those philosophers who found it difficult, on the evidence of the senses, to reach the truth on any question. They accordingly suspended judgment. Some of them even denied the possibility of knowing anything. See p. 100. Keck here quotes Lucretius, *De Rerum Natura*, IV. 469 *sq.*, which Munro translates: "Again if a man believe that nothing is known, he knows not whether this even can be known, since he admits he knows nothing." The word *sceptic* also means doubter in religion, disbeliever.

Diogenes. See pp. 8, 57. In this sentence and the next, Browne maintains that the affectation of a virtue (e.g. humility) may land us in the corresponding vice (e.g. pride). Antisthenes, the founder of the Cynic school of philosophers, to show his contempt for the comforts and the luxuries of life, ate the hardest fare and wore rags. This affectation drew from Socrates the remark "I see your pride through the holes in your cloak." See Coleridge, *The Devil's Thoughts*, VI.:

"He saw a cottage with a double coach-house,
A cottage of gentility;
And the Devil did grin, for his darling sin
Is pride that apes humility."

Alexander: Alexander the Great. See pp. 37, 78.

provoking: inciting, rousing, spurring on—archaic sense.

profound: immerse, plunge. See p. 17.

The Duke of Venice. For centuries it was the annual custom on Ascension Day for the Doge to sail in the great galley, the Bucentaur, to the spot where the lagoons meet the sea. There, with suitable religious rites, a ring was cast into the sea to symbolise the espousal of Venice and the sea. The ceremony is alluded to by Wordsworth in his Sonnet, *On the Extinction of the Venetian Republic*, and by Byron in *Childe Harold*, IV. xi.

argue: accuse of. See p. 76.

solemnity: ceremony. Browne says "of good use and consequence," for it encouraged the Venetians to anticipate success on the sea and, being sanctioned by the Church, proclaimed to Europe the supremacy of Venice over the Adriatic.

the Philosopher. Aristippus, Antisthenes, Crates, and Apollonius of Tyana are each credited with this.

riddle: entanglement. Compare Scott, *Marmion*, VI. xvii.:

> "O, what a tangled web we weave,
> When first we practise to deceive!"

as to Religion: alluding to Ephesians vi. 11: "Put on the whole armour of God, that ye may be able to stand against the wiles of the devil"; where, in the Greek, the word is that transliterated here—*panoplia*.

at close ward: at close guard, completely defended—a fencing term. So also is *venny*, a hit or thrust. *Venny*, frequent from about 1580 to about 1640, is now, says *O.E.D.*, obsolete except in dialectic. It is a form of *venue*, originally meaning a coming on, in order to strike.

the thred of reason: to guide them as the clew in the story of the labyrinth of Crete.

under-heads: men of less discretion.

to piece up: to build up by adding one thing after another. Keck says that, for an action to be good, all the causes must be good, while one bad cause among many good is enough to make the action bad.

by the book: formally, in set phrase, according to prescription. So Shakespeare, *Romeo and Juliet*, I. v. 112; and *As You Like It*, v. iv. 94.

holds not an equal pace: does not keep even pace, is out of step, is inconsistent. See first sentence of this section.

we naturally know: by nature we know. Compare Romans vii. 19: "For the good that I would I do not: but the evil which I would not, that I do"; and Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, VII. 20 *sq.*:

> "video meliora proboque;
> Deteriora sequor."

PAGE 78.

the Rhetorick. See quotation from *Merchant of Venice* in note to "Nor truely do," p. 76.

instructions of Reason. Compare Shakespeare, *Merchant of Venice*, I. ii. 19 *sqq.*: "The brain may devise laws for the blood; but a hot temper leaps o'er a cold decree: such a hare is madness the youth, to skip o'er the meshes of good counsel the cripple."

Man and Beast. Compare *Christian Morals*, III. 14:

"Live unto the Dignity of thy Nature, and leave it not disputable at last whether thou hast been a Man; or, since thou art a composition of Man and Beast, how thou has predominantly passed thy days, to state the denomination. Unman not therefore thy self by a bestial transformation, nor realize old Fables. Expose not thy self by four-footed manners unto monstrous draughts, and caricatura representations. Think not after the old Pythagorean conceit, what Beast thou may'st be after death. Be not under any brutal metempsychosis while thou livest, and walkest about erectly under the scheme of Man. In thine own circumference, as in that of the Earth, let the rational Horizon be larger than the sensible, and the Circle of Reason than of Sense. Let the Divine part be upward, and the Region of Beast below. Otherwise, 'tis but to live invertedly, and with thy Head unto the heels of thy Antipodes. Desert not thy title to a Divine particle and union with invisibles...Lodge immaterials in thy Head; ascend unto invisibles; fill thy Spirit with spirituals, with the mysteries of Faith, the magnalities of Religion, and thy Life with the Honour of God; without which, though Giants in wealth and Dignity, we are but Dwarfs and Pygmies in Humanity, and may hold a pitiful rank in that triple division of mankind into Heroes, Men and Beasts. For though human Souls are said to be equal, yet is there no small inequality in their operations; some maintain the allowable Station of Men; many are far below it; and some have been so divine, as to approach the Apogeum of their Natures, and to be in the Confinium of Spirits."

Chiron: the wisest and justest of the Centaurs, and the instructor of Peleus, Achilles and other heroes. The Centaurs were believed to be half-men and half-horses. In ancient art they are represented as men from the head to the loins, while the rest of the body is equine, with four legs and a tail. This explains Browne's words: "to have the Region of Man above that of Beast, and Sense to sit but at the feet of Reason"—i.e. to have the animal part under the control of the rational.

I do desire with God: 1 Timothy ii. 3 *sq.*:

"For this is good and acceptable in the sight of God our Saviour;

"Who will have all men to be saved, and to come unto the knowledge of the truth."

the bridge is narrow: Matthew vii. 13 *sq.*:

"Enter ye in at the strait gate: for wide is the gate, and broad is the way, that leadeth to destruction, and many there be which go in thereat:

Because strait is the gate, and narrow is the way, which leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it."

It has been suggested that Browne's mention of "the bridge" is a reminiscence of Al Serât, the ordeal bridge of the Mohammedans, spanning the abyss of Gehenna. It is finer than a hair and sharper than the edge of a sword. The faithful cross in safety, sinners fall headlong down. Compare the "Brigg o' Dread" in the afterworld of the ballad "A Lyke-wake Dirge."

straight: obsolete spelling of *strait*.

Section 56.

Vulgarity: the quality of being ordinary, average, commonplace—obsolete usage. See p. 98.

in Strabo's cloak. Strabo, the geographer (*c.* 54 B.C.–24 A.D.), compares the known world of his day to a cloak. Browne seems here to put Europe for the known world. In *Pseud. Epidem.* VI. 14, however, he has "the fancy of Strabo makes the habitated earth like a cloak." The passage in Strabo is II. 5, 14 (c. 118), beginning *ἔστι δή τι χλαμυδοειδὲς σχῆμα τῆς γῆς οἰκουμένης.*

restrain it unto: restrict, limit, confine it to—now a rare usage.

in our reformed judgement: in the judgment of us of the reformed churches.

minority and nonage of ours: of our churches, i.e. when Christianity was but recently established in Western Europe.

Page 79.

all Martyrs: alluding to the widespread persecution of Christians in Asia and Africa by the Mohammedans.

of persecution: i.e. of being persecuted.

Sunshine: peace and happiness, as contrasted with "the Fire" of persecution.

our Opinions together: the combined opinions of the various branches of the Christian church.

us: the Anglicans. See p. 5.

Sub-reformists: such reformed churches as Lutheran and Calvinist. *Reformist* in the seventeenth century was frequent in the sense of church-reformer.

Sectaries: used in the seventeenth century to designate Brownists or Separatists, Anabaptists, and others. The term is now chiefly historical.

damnable: subject to divine condemnation. *O.E.D.* quotes from Smollet (1751): "enthusiasts who look upon every schism from the established articles of faith as damnable."

the Atomist, or Familist. *Familist* denotes the Family of Love, a sect which originated in the Netherlands in the sixteenth century and had many adherents in England. Their service of love was the exercise of sympathy and tenderness.

What *Atomist* means is a puzzle. Wilkin regards *Atomist* and *Familist* as identical; and it has been suggested that *Atomist*—from the idea of indivisibility in the Greek ἄτομος—denotes a united family. There is no ground for thinking we should read either *Adamite* or *Anabaptist*. "It is," says Greenhill, "at any rate a singular coincidence that has been pointed out, viz., that in Thomas Edwards's *Gangræna*, etc., 1646 (p. 87), there is mention of a *Mrs Atomy*, who preached in 1644 or '45 before an audience of some fifty persons, and maintained universalism...." But in the third edition of *Gangræna* (1646) the name is not *Atomy* but *Attaway*. "Mistris Attaway the Lace-woman," a notorious woman-preacher in London, is mentioned by Edwards in four or five different passages. Her name occurs at least eleven times, all with the same spelling except once, when it is *Attoway*.

conceits: ideas. See p. 57.

more than one St. Peter. Peter is the traditional gate-keeper of heaven. In Christian art he is represented carrying keys; and two keys are the insignia of the Papacy. See Christ's words to Peter, in Matthew xvi. 19:

"And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven."

uncharity: lack of charity, uncharitableness.

Section 57.

reprobated: cast off by God, excluded from salvation.

Prognostick: prognosticate—obsolete use of the word.

compass the earth. See Matthew xxiii. 15: "...ye compass sea and land to make one proselyte...."

seeking whom they may devour: adapted from 1 Peter v. 8.

Page 80.

Those who...sentence Solomon. Keck mentions St Augustine, Lyra and Bellarmine.

pretend unto Salvation: lay claim to.

SECTION 58.

the eye of this Needle: Matthew xix. 24:

"And again I say unto you, It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God."

compellation: style, title.

little Flock: Luke xii. 32: "Fear not, little flock; for it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom."

apprehensions: views, opinions, ideas.

Anarchy: absence of ranks, of "degrees of priority." It was a mediæval belief that Heavenly beings were divided into three Hierarchies, each of which comprised three Orders. The first Hierarchy consisted of Seraphim, Cherubim, Thrones; the second of Dominations, Virtues, Powers; the third of Principalities, Archangels, Angels. Hence, Browne says, as there are degrees of priority among the Heavenly beings, so will there be among the Saints. In heaven, then, there can be no "Anarchy."

aspire unto: mount up to, attain to—obsolete sense.

PAGE 81. SECTION 59.

pretend...certainty: profess to have an absolute certainty.

how little...need: because we know at first hand how unworthy we are, and we recognise our unworthiness "with fear and trembling." The unauthorised editions of 1642 read *how much*.

Work out: from Philippians ii. 12.

beneplacit: good pleasure, gracious purpose—obsolete word: from ecclesiastical Latin *beneplacitum*, as in Vulgate.

Before Abraham was: John viii. 58.

the Idea of God. God had in his mind the exemplar, the archetype, of man from all eternity. According to Browne this exemplar was a perfect exemplar, *Christian Morals*, I. 28: "Could we intimately apprehend the Ideated Man, and as he stood in the intellect of God upon the first exertion by Creation, we might more narrowly comprehend our present Degeneration, and how widely we are fallen from the pure Exemplar and Idea of our Nature."

the decree of that Synod: the decree fore-ordaining all things. See p. 16. *Synod*, most commonly used of ecclesiastical assemblies (as on p. 5), is employed by Milton, as in *Paradise Lost*, II. 391, VI. 156, XI. 67, to name meetings of angels, fallen as well as unfallen; and by Shakespeare of assemblies of the gods, as in *Coriolanus*, V. ii. 74; and *As You Like It*, III. ii. 158.

Eve miscarried of me: by her disobedience to God's command, Eve brought me into the world already the inheritor of death.

SECTION 60.

Insolent zeals: haughty zealots. See p. 4; and *Pseud. Epidem.* VII. 19.

enforce the condition: demand the fulfilment of God's covenant, as expressed in such Scriptures as Acts xvi. 31: "Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved"; Romans iii. 28: "Therefore we conclude that a man is justified by faith without the deeds of the law"; and Galatians iii. 11: "But that no man is justified by the law in the sight of God, it is evident: for, The just shall live by faith."

Condition, in the sense of covenant, contract, occurs in Shakespeare, *Merchant of Venice*, I. iii. 149.

more sophistical: i.e. than if they sought it by good works. *Sophistical* means of the nature of sophistry or specious reasoning.

challenge: claim, demand as a right. So p. 8.

those that lapt. See Judges vii. 4 *sqq*.

PAGE 82.

could object unto his own Disciples: could bring as a charge or fault, cast in their teeth. *Object* with the accusative (as *a Faith* here) is now archaic. The usual construction is with a *that*-clause. Compare Burke, *Speech at Bristol*: "who could dream of objecting his religion to an ally."

a grain of Mustard-seed: Matthew xvii. 19 *sq.*:

"Then came the disciples to Jesus apart, and said, Why could not we cast him out?

And Jesus said unto them, Because of your unbelief [R.V. little faith]: for verily I say unto you, If ye have faith as a grain of mustard seed, ye shall say unto this mountain, Remove hence to yonder place; and it shall remove; and nothing shall be impossible unto you."

a remove: one stage, one degree. Note the play of words—"to remove Mountains" and "a remove from nothing."

the humour...self: my own peculiar temperament, cast of mind. Compare "its own irregular humour," p. 78.

square not with. See p. 5.

favour: the reading of most of the early editions. The manuscripts, however, the unauthorised editions, and the first authorised edition have *father*, which is the universal reading in the corresponding passage in the address "To the Reader":

"Lastly, all that is contained therein is in submission unto maturer discernments; and, as I have declared, shall no further father them than the best and learned judgments shall authorize them: under favour of which considerations, I have made its secrecy publick, and committed the truth thereof to every Ingenuous Reader."

learned and best judgments. See p. 66.

THE SECOND PART

Page 83. Section 1.

Charity. Compare *Christian Morals*, I. 16:

"While thou so hotly disclaimest the Devil, be not guilty of Diabolism. Fall not into one name with that unclean Spirit, nor act his nature whom thou so much abhorrest; that is to accuse, calumniate, backbite, whisper, detract, or sinistrously interpret others; degenerous depravities, and narrow-minded vices, not only below St. Paul's noble Christian, but Aristotle's true Gentleman. Trust not with some that the Epistle of St. James is Apocryphal, and so read with less fear that Stabbing Truth, that in company with this vice thy Religion is in vain. Moses broke the Tables without breaking of the Law; but where Charity is broke, the Law it self is shattered, which cannot be whole without Love, which is the fulfilling of it. Look humbly upon thy Virtues, and though thou art Rich in some, yet think thy self Poor and Naked without that Crowning Grace, which thinketh no evil, which envieth not, which beareth, hopeth, believeth, endureth all things. With these sure Graces, while busy Tongues are crying out for a drop of cold Water, mutes may be in happiness, and sing the *Trisagion* in Heaven."

of no existence: James ii. 17: "Even so faith, if it hath not works, is dead, being alone"; and its context. Compare, also, *ibid.* i.; and 1 Corinthians xiii.

humane inclination: merciful disposition. For the other use of *humane*, see p. 23.

borrowed: derived. So Shakespeare, *Troilus*, IV. v. 133:

"That any drop [of blood] thou borrow'dst from thy mother."

hold the true Anatomy of my self: have, as it were, anatomised myself, and therefore know my nature.

such a piece of virtue: viz. charity.

general: catholic, not narrow in sympathies, broad-minded.

consorts: accords, agrees, harmonises. The 1682 edition has the inferior reading *comforts*. Most of the earlier editions have *consorts*.

sympathizeth: has an affinity, agrees, harmonises, is in accord—obsolete usage. Compare Shakespeare, *Henry V*, III. vii. 158 *sq.*:

"...the men do sympathize with the mastiffs in robustious and rough coming on."

Idio-syncrasie: peculiar disposition or feeling, peculiarity.

Jews. See p. 1.

Those National repugnances. History, ancient and modern, as well as present-day life, will supply instances. For a contrast to Browne's remarks, read Lamb's Essay, "Imperfect Sympathies," the motto of which consists of fragments of this passage. The classes of men with whom Lamb has imperfect sympathy, are Scots, Jews, Negroes, Quakers.

in balance: in equipoise, on an equality.

in the same. This is among the errata of the 1643 edition for *in some*.

the eighth Climate. *Climate* here means one of the twenty-four zones between the equator and each of the polar circles —obsolete usage.

seem for to be. Very early in Middle English *for to* was employed with the infinitive to express purpose (a usage now vulgar or archaic). The construction soon became also merely the sign of the infinitive, as Browne has it here. This is now obsolete in educated speech.

Page 84.

constellated: predestined by my stars, i.e. those I was born under.

All places. Compare Shakespeare, *Richard II*, I. iii. 275 *sq.*:

"All places that the eye of heaven visits
Are to a wise man ports and happy havens."

shipwrackt. *Wrack*, in compounds and alone, occurs in Marlowe, Shakespeare, A.V. (1611), Milton and Dryden.

averse from. For the various authors using *from* after *averse*, or *to*, or both prepositions, see *O.E.D.* See also p. 102.

come to composition: compromise, agreement.

the Multitude. See also p. 91. Compare *Pseud. Epidem.* I. 5: "*Nos numerus sumus* is the motto of the multitude, and for that reason are they fools. For things, as they recede from unity, the more they approach to imperfection and deformity.

that numerous piece of monstrosity: that monster which consists of many individuals, and so is only fit for counting in the mass. *O.E.D. s.v. monstrosity* quotes Power (1664): "This numerous piece of Monstrosity (the Multitude)."

beast...Hydra. Hydra was the nine-headed monster slain by Hercules. Compare Shakespeare, *Coriolanus*, II. iii. 18:

"the many-headed multitude";

ibid. III. i. 92 *sq.*:

"have you thus
Given Hydra here [the plebeians] to choose an officer";

ibid. IV. i. 1 *sq.*:

"the beast
With many heads butts me away";

and Scott, *The Lady of the Lake*, V. xxx.:

"O Lennox, who would wish to rule
This changeling crowd, this common fool?
. . . . . .
Thou many-headed monster-thing,
Oh who would wish to be thy king!"

Compare Horace, *Epistles*, I. i. 76:

"Belua multorum es capitum."

no breach of Charity. Though Matthew v. 22 warns us—"but whosoever shall say, Thou fool, shall be in danger of hell fire,"—yet Browne considers himself justified in designating the multitude fools. He is merely following the example of the Bible; and since the Bible says so, it is "a point of our Faith to believe so." In the Wisdom-books of the Bible, as Proverbs and Ecclesiastes, fools and wise men are everywhere contrasted; but the term *fools* does not denote "the multitude."

minor: inferior, comparatively unimportant. This, says *O.E.D.*, is a favourite use with Sir Thomas Browne, and common in subsequent writers.

Plebeian heads: ignoble, base, coarse persons.

moves with the same wheel: makes the same revolution, is of the same nature.

their fortunes...follies. Horace, *Epistles*, I. vi. 36 *sqq.*, says: "No doubt our Lady Money bestows a wife with a dowry, credit, friends, high birth and beauty, and the millionaire is adorned with Persuasion and Love." Burke, in his *Letter to a Noble Lord*, speaks of the Duke of Bedford and his associates as acting in a way "foolish, even above the weight of privilege allowed to wealth."

in casting account: in making a calculation, in calculating.

The exact meaning of this sentence is doubtful, since what precisely Browne is referring to is obscure. The following explanation has been suggested. In a ledger, at the top of a page there might be three or four names with a few hundreds each to their credit, while lower down one name might stand with £10,000. The last, though placed below, would be greater in account than the others, who would thus together "come short in" or fail to reach the standard of the one, fall below the one in amount.

Doradoes: rich men, millionaires—obsolete usage. Its earliest meaning (still current) in English is a splendidly coloured fish. *Dorado* (compare *El Dorado*) is the Spanish for gilded. Browne is here playing on its meaning and the word *guild*. *Guild* is an obsolete form of *gild*.

forlorn: pitiful, wretched.

Page 85.

him. The 1682 and other editions read *them*, but the sense requires *him*.

Politicians: statesmen.

Heraldry: coats of arms, quarterings.

filed: arranged in file. *To file men* is now obsolete.

preheminence: spelling now obsolete but common from the fifteenth century to the eighteenth. The *h*, says *O.E.D.*, was inserted to avoid hiatus.

byas: a spelling of *bias* common from the sixteenth century to the eighteenth.

they: i.e. riches.

faculty. See p. 21.

Section 2.

general and indifferent: catholic and disinterested (or impartial, unbiased).

more neerly: more particularly.

this noble virtue: i.e. charity.

inoculation: metaphorical use of the gardener's term meaning the insertion of a bud of one plant under the bark of another in order to produce flowers or fruit different from those of the stock. Compare Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, III. i. 118 *sqq.*: "You should not have believed me; for virtue cannot so inoculate our old stock but we shall relish of it."

graffs: another metaphor from gardening. *Graff* is the older form of *graft*, a shoot inserted in a slit of another stock, which supplies its sap. See metaphorical use of the verb *graff* in Romans xi. 17–24.

Moralists: those living by a natural system of ethics, as distinguished from a religious system. See p. 66, "moral honesty."

impulsions: impelling causes, influences.

I give no alms. Of this Professor Sorley remarks that Browne "forgot the gospel he followed, which makes the love of one's brother come first and prepare the way for the love of God"; and adds that Browne's utterance here is connected with the narrow view of the schoolmen which regards religion as supplanting ordinary morality, whereas "it deepens a man's insight into what is good, and renders it support." *The Moral Life* (Cambridge Manuals of Science and Literature), p. 136.

only to satisfie: merely.

his that enjoyned it. See *Christian Morals*, I. 6:

"Give not only unto seven, but also unto eight [Ecclesiastes xi. 2], that is, unto more than many. Though to give unto every one that asketh [Luke vi. 30] may seem severe advice, yet give thou also before asking, that is, where want is silently clamorous, and mens Necessities, not their Tongues, do loudly call for thy Mercies."

Rhetorick of his miseries: persuasive appeal. See pp. 6, 29, 112.

PAGE 86.

moral charity. See p. 85, "Moralists," and p. 66, "moral honesty."

passion: emotion, feeling, pity. Compare Goldsmith, *Deserted Village*, 161 *sq.*:

> "Careless their merits or their faults to scan,
> His pity gave ere charity began."

The same alms-giving from pity is pictured by Goldsmith in "The Man in Black," *A Citizen of the World*, XXVI., XXVII.

bowels of pity: an archaic phrase with *bowels* in the sense of feelings, emotions. So *bowels of charity, of mercies, of humanity, of tenderness*. This usage arose from the bowels being regarded as the seat of tender and sympathetic emotions.

sinister and politick: underhand and crafty.

professed Eleemosynaries: professional beggars. This use of *eleemosynary* is now obsolete.

a merciful aspect: look, glance. See p. 90.

signatures: distinctive marks. Browne has in mind the use of the word to indicate a peculiarity of shape, colour, and so on, in plants, fishes, stones, which showed their virtues as medicines. Euphrasia or eye-bright, with its black pupil-like spot in the corolla, was supposed to be good for the eyes,

while yellow turmeric was considered a remedy for jaundice, and the bloodstone would stop bleeding. This fancy would appeal in a special way to Browne as a physician. See "Phytognomy," below.

for there are mystically...our natures: a good description of physiognomy. It has been for long a widespread belief that, to a certain extent, qualities and habits of the mind are revealed in features and expressions of the face. Attempts have been made to formulate rules for reading the human countenance so that physiognomy might be regarded as a science. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries Cardan, Della Porta and Campanella were famous physiognomists: still more famous was Lavater in the eighteenth. Darwin and others have treated the subject from the standpoint of modern scientific research. Browne elsewhere expresses his belief in physiognomy as in *Hydriotaphia*, 3; and in *Christian Morals*, II. 9:

"Since the Brow speaks often true, since Eyes and Noses have Tongues, and the countenance proclaims the Heart and inclinations; let observation so far instruct thee in Physiognomical lines, as to be some Rule for thy distinction, and Guide for thy affection unto such as look most like Men. Mankind, methinks, is comprehended in a few Faces, if we exclude all Visages which any way participate of Symmetries and Schemes of Look common unto other animals. For as though Man were the extract of the World, in whom all were *in coagulato*, which in their forms were *in soluto* and at Extension; we often observe that men do most act those Creatures, whose constitution, parts, and complexion do most predominate in their mixtures. This is a corner-stone in Physiognomy, and holds some Truth not only in particular Persons but also in whole Nations."

Compare Cowper, *Letters*, April 17, 1790:

"I am very much of Lavater's opinion, and persuaded that faces are as legible as books, only with these circumstances to recommend them to our perusal, that they are read in much less time, and are much less likely to deceive us."

King Duncan utters the opposite view, Shakespeare, *Macbeth*, I. iv. 11 *sq.*:

"There's no art
To find the mind's construction in the face."

So Euripides, *Medea*, 516 *sqq.*:

ὦ Ζεῦ, τί δὴ χρυσοῦ μὲν ὃς κίβδηλος ἦ
τεκμήρι' ἀνθρώποισιν ὥπασας σαφῆ,
ἀνδρῶν δ' ὅτῳ χρὴ τὸν κακὸν διειδέναι,
οὐδεὶς χαρακτὴρ ἐμπέφυκε σώματι;

Characters: distinctive marks, stamps.

motto: often denotes a proverb or maxim adopted as a rule of conduct. So in Burke's *Letter to a Noble Lord*: "*Nitor in adversum* is the motto for a man like me."

cannot. The early editions have *can*, though in the first authorised edition *can* was noted as a mistake and corrected to *cannot*.

Phytognomy: the art of discovering the qualities of a plant from its appearance. See *Pseud. Epidem.* II. 6: "There are, I confess, divers plants which carry about them not only the shape of parts, but also of whole animals; but surely not all thereof, unto whom this conformity is imputed." Porta wrote a book *Phytognomonica*, which Browne more than once refers to as *Phytognomy*.

bushes: alluding to the bunch of ivy formerly hung out to indicate a seller of wine. Hence the proverb: "Good wine needs no bush."

graphical: in writing.

calls the Stars: the phraseology is from Psalms cxlvii. 4. Browne is alluding to the names given to constellations from some fancied resemblance to familiar objects—for example. Ἄρκτος, Ἅμαξα of the Greeks; Ursa Major, Ursa Minor, Septentriones of the Romans; and our own Plough, Charles's Wain.

PAGE 87.

Adam assigned. See Genesis ii. 19 *sq.*

in our Hands. Browne has a few sentences, of a non-committal nature, in *Pseud. Epidem.* V. 24, on chiromancy.

à la volée: without purpose, fortuitous.

a Pencil. See p. 86, "The Finger of God."

I carry that in mine own hand. Compare *Letter to a Friend*, VII, "Cardan hath a peculiar and no hard Observation from a Man's Hand, to know whether he was born in the day or night, which I confess holdeth in my own." For Browne's nativity, see p. 108.

neerer addicted: more closely, more particularly, devoted.

vagabond...Egyptians: gipsies. These wanderers, of Hindu origin, came to England soon after 1500, and were believed to be Egyptians. The name was shortened, and in 1537 we find *gipcyans*, later *gipsies*.

study: deliberate intention, premeditated effort.

24 Letters: the alphabet. The English alphabet might be so called by Browne if we remember that I did the work we

now divide between I and J, while U and V were interchangeable. But he may have had in mind some saying like that reported by Plutarch of Athenodorus—"Remember, Cæsar, whenever you are angry, not to say or do anything before repeating the four-and-twenty [Greek] letters to yourself."

necessary: inevitable. So p. 68.

portract: portrait—obsolete spelling. So *Pourtraict*, p. 15.

limb: limn, draw. *Limb* is an obsolete spelling of *limn*, which is itself archaic.

a sensible distinction: a perceptible difference.

come short. See p. 84.

Page 88.

disparage: bring discredit upon, dishonour, lower in esteem. See p. 91.

reserved difference. See p. 47.

Section 3.

But to return: after the digression which began on p. 86.

conceit: view, idea.

to give Alms is onely: to give alms is alone to be charitable, i.e. is the only way to be charitable.

Lazarus: a poor man, a beggar; from the story of "a certain beggar named Lazarus," Luke xvi. 19 *sqq*.

wear our Liveries: think our thoughts, as servants wear the distinctive badge of their masters. Compare p. 66.

their borrowed understandings: their borrowed brains, their minds full of borrowed ideas.

Page 89.

reserved: keeping back, close-fisted.

caitiff: mean, with the connotation of niggardly.

a grave. Compare *Christian Morals*, I. 21: "Make not thy Head a Grave, but a Repository of God's Mercies."

a treasure: a treasury, a treasure-house—obsolete usage, of which *O.E.D.* has no instance later than 1596. *Treasure* has the same meaning in Jeremiah x. 13; and Shakespeare, *Sonnets*, CXXXVI.

no Monopoly, but a community. Browne was like Chaucer's Clerk of Oxenford:

> "And gladly wolde he lerne, and gladly teche."
>
> *The Prologue*, 308.

Legacied: bequeathed—obsolete word.
fall out: supply *with*.
why a difference in Opinion. Compare what Browne says, pp. 2 *sq*.
spends: an obsolete usage, with the same sense as the old *spends the mouth, the tongue*, barks or gives tongue on finding or seeing the game. See Shakespeare, *Henry V*, II. iv. 69 *sqq*.:

"...for coward dogs
Most spend their mouths when what they seem to threaten
Runs far before them."

amply proposed: set forth fully, at large.
scarce: scarcely—archaic usage, now chiefly in poetry and rhetorical prose.
the Parenthesis: the digression—obsolete meaning.
the party: the part, the subdivision, the subordinate matter—obsolete usage.

PAGE 90.

there remains...controversies. See Introduction.
a Passion: an outburst of anger.
never any disputed without: never any debated without anger.

Βατραχομυομαχία: *Battle of the Frogs and Mice*, a mock epic poem, attributed to Homer. The meaning here is "Much ado about nothing."

S. and T. in Lucian: in *Δίκη Φωνηέντων*, one of Lucian's (see pp. 29, 66) witty dialogues. Before the seven vowels, *Σῖγμα* (S), in an amusing speech, complains of being ousted by *Ταῦ* (T) from many Greek words. Adapting legal phraseology, Lucian makes the charge "violence and robbery": *Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ἀριστάρχου Φαληρέως, Πυανεψιῶνος ἑβδόμῃ ἱσταμένου, γραφὴν ἔθετο τὸ Σῖγμα πρὸς τὸ Ταῦ ἐπὶ τῶν ἑπτὰ Φωνηέντων βίας καὶ ὑπαρχόντων ἁρπαγῆς, ἀφῃρῆσθαι λέγον πάντων τῶν ἐν διπλῷ ταῦ ἐκφερομένων*. Compare Steele's "Petition of *Who* and *Which* against the usurper *That*," and "That's Remonstrance," in *The Spectator*, No. 78 and No. 80.

the Genitive case: "Whether Jovis or Jupiteris" (Note in 1643 edition.) *Jupiter*, says Priscian, has its genitive *Jupiteris* or *Jupitris*, while *Jovis* is from the old nominative *Jovis*.
pates. The word *pate* is no longer in serious or dignified use.
to salve: to keep unhurt. See p. 32.
Priscian: flourished in Constantinople in the beginning of the sixth century A.D. He compiled a Latin grammar, which became one of the great text-books of the Middle Ages. So

authoritative was Priscian held that any one violating Latin usage was told "Diminuis Prisciani caput," You're breaking Priscian's head. In Shakespeare's *Love's Labour's Lost*, v. i. *ad init.*, when the Curate's Latin jars on Holofernes the pedant, he says, "Priscian! a little scratched, 'twill serve."

Compare Butler, *Hudibras*, II. ii. 221 *sqq.*:

> "Their gospel is an Accidence,
> By which they construe Conscience,
> And hold no sin so deeply red,
> As that of breaking Priscian's head";

Pope, *Dunciad*, III. 161 *sq.*:

> "Some free from rhyme or reason, rule or check,
> Break Priscian's head, and Pegasus's neck";

and Lamb, *To my friend the Indicator*:

> "I would not lightly bruise old Priscian's head,
> Or wrong the rules of grammar understood."

Hence Browne's humorous turn. They break each other's heads in earnest, in order not to break the rules of grammar.

Si foret: Horace, *Epistles*, II. i. 194, If Democritus were in the world, he would laugh. See p. 91.

wiser militants: combatants, disputants.

Actius his razor. For this genitive, see Introduction. Actius (or Attius or Attus) Navius was a famed augur in ancient Rome. He was ordered by Tarquinius Priscus to divine whether what he was thinking of could be done. The augur said it could and Tarquinius commanded him to cut a whetstone with a razor. This Navius immediately did. Livy tells the story, I. xxxvi.; and Cicero, *De Divinatione*, I. xvii. 32.

their Pens carry. Compare Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy*, I. ii. 4, 4: "*Hinc quam sic calamus sævior ense, patet.* The pen worse than the sword."

Basilisco: the basilisk, also called cockatrice, was a fabulous reptile hatched by a serpent from a cock's egg. Its breath, and even its look, was fatal. *Basilisco* is the Spanish form of the word. Browne has a chapter on the basilisk, *Pseud. Epidem.* III. 7. The word was also employed for a big gun, usually made of brass. Some consider that in this passage Browne meant the gun, not the reptile.

Patron: act as patron to, countenance. See p. 6.

aspect: mental look, consideration, regard—obsolete usage. So on p. 104. Compare also pp. 8, 26, 103.

eternized: immortalised, made perpetually famous.

these are the men. Compare Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, II. ii. 546 *sqq.*: "Good my lord, will you see the players well bestowed? Do you hear, let them be well used, for they are the abstract and brief chronicles of the time: after your death you were better have a bad epitaph than their ill report while you live."

reproach: shame, disgrace, opprobrium.

to the scandal: compared to the slander, defamatory remarks. See pp. 61, 107.

Story: history—obsolete meaning. So also p. 103.

authentick: authoritative. See p. 34.

belies: calumniates, tells lies about.

Page 91. Section 4.

whole professions. Browne alludes to one of these, p. 1, "the general scandal of my Profession."

mysteries. See p. 35. See the charge against, for example, millers in Chaucer, *Prologue*, 562 *sq.*; and against tailors in Shakespeare, *Macbeth*, II. iii. 15 *sq.*

conditions: classes, ranks. Compare Book of Common Prayer, "All sorts and conditions of men." So also Shakespeare, *The Tempest*, III. i. 59; and *Henry V*, IV. iii. 63. Such an "offence unto Charity" appears in the epithet in the phrase "the idle rich."

whole Nations. See p. 83. Compare Burke, *Conciliation with America*: "I do not know the method of drawing up an indictment against a whole people." Yet Browne himself (*Pseud. Epidem.* I. 5) boldly writes: "There are not only particular men, but whole nations indisposed for learning; whereunto is required, not only education, but a pregnant Minerva and teeming constitution." This "offence against Charity" occurs everywhere in literature, in proverbs, in daily talk. See Shakespeare, *Macbeth*, V. iii. 8: "English epicures"; *Hamlet*, I. iv. 19: "They clepe us drunkard"; *ibid.* V. i. 170: "there the men are as mad as he"; Churchill, *Prophecy of Famine*; Goldsmith, *Essays*, XI.; *A Citizen of the World*, V.; Scott, *Fortunes of Nigel*, I., II.; *Quentin Durward*, II.; "Perfidious Albion"; "Punica fides"; Sydney Smith: "It requires a surgical operation to get a joke into a Scotch understanding." Another type is seen in the crediting of a town or district with a supremacy in foolishness; e.g. "The Wise Men of Gotham"; "The Queer Folk of the Shaws" (Pollokshaws).

an uncharitable Logick. It is not merely uncharitable, but also fallacious. See *Pseud. Epidem.* I. 4:

"This fallacy men commit when they argue from a particular

to a general; as when we conclude the vices or qualities of a few upon a whole nation, or from a part unto the whole."

Le mutin Anglois:

The stubborn Englishman, and the hectoring Scot,
The lewd Italian, and the madcap Frenchman,
The chicken-hearted Roman, and the Gascon thief,
The haughty Spaniard, and the German sot.

Cretians. This form of the word is in *Pseud. Epidem.* III. 25; Edwards, *Gangræna,* II. 24; and elsewhere. The allusion is to Titus i. 12: "One of themselves, even a prophet of their own, said, The Cretians [R.V. Cretans] are alway liars, evil beasts, slow bellies." The saying is a Greek hexameter,

Κρῆτες ἀεὶ ψεῦσται, κακὰ θηρία, γαστέρες ἀργαί,

from Epimenides of Crete, *circa* 600 B.C., whom the Cretans reverenced as a god.

It: i.e. to miscall a nation.

Nero's. Keck regards this as alluding to an anecdote told by Suetonius, where Nero is represented as wishing to see in his lifetime the conflagration of the world. Wilkin, however, considers that Browne has fathered on Nero the utterance of Caligula: "Would that the people of Rome had one neck!" That, he thinks, fits in better with the conclusion of the sentence. See Suetonius, *Nero,* 38; *Caligula,* 30.

assassine: assassinate—obsolete. *O.E.D.* quotes from Wharton (1647), "Attempt to Assassine the Honour of a whole Nation with his Invectives."

Democritus: of Abdera, was born *c.* 460 B.C. A man of immense learning and of noble character, he is the renowned expounder of the atomic theory. Later ages represented his cheerful disposition as continual laughter at the follies of mankind. See p. 90. Heraclitus of Ephesus, *c.* 510 B.C., was called the weeping philosopher, as ever grieving over the follies of mankind. See p. 111.

the multitude. See p. 84.

prophan'd: vulgarised, made the possession of the multitude. This meaning is now obsolete. *O.E.D.* quotes only the present passage.

are yet the life. The early editions, including that of 1682, have the reading *in life,* which had been corrected to *the life* in the 1643 edition.

community of sin: commonness, ordinary occurrence. So *Pseud. Epidem.* VII. 1: "the community of this fruit."

disparage: discredit, lessen the esteem of. See p. 88.

the major part: the majority of the people. *Major* = what constitutes the majority is now used **only with** *part, portion* and other such words.

PAGE **92.**

multiplies its goodness. See p. 104, "which by an *Anti-peristasis*," etc.

Satyr. See p. 6.

are railed into vice: driven into vice by railing. *O.E.D.* cites what is a close parallel, from Shakespeare, *Troilus*, II. i. 17:

"I shall sooner rail thee into wit and holiness."

a derived ray: a ray received by emission.

trajection: transmission.

a sensible species. See p. 70. *Sensible* means perceptible, visible.

accidents. See p. 47.

the forms: the essences, the essential creative qualities. See p. 47.

we censure others but: i.e. just, merely. Compare Selden, *Table-Talk*: "We measure the excellency of other men by some excellency we conceive to be in ourselves. Nash, a poet, poor enough (as poets use to be), seeing an alderman with his gold chain, upon his great horse, by way of scorn said to one of his companions, 'Do you see yon fellow, how goodly, how big he looks? Why, that fellow cannot make a blank verse.'"

humour: disposition, constitutional or habitual tendency.

laudible: a spelling of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

quadrate and consent: square and agree. Compare *square*, pp. 5, 82.

but that: merely what.

in those...fires and flames of zeal: in red-hot fanatics.

PAGE **93.**

coldest: most free from "the fires and flames of zeal," not hurried away by passion, deliberate, cool.

complexioned for humility: having a humble disposition or temperament. This use of *complexioned* is obsolete.

Charity begins at home. See p. 94.

Non occides: Thou shalt not kill, Exodus xx. 13.

Atropos: one of the three Fates. Atropos was at times represented with a shears to cut the thread of life spun by her sisters. For the form of the expression, "every man is his own Atropos," i.e. his own executioner, see p. 7, "every mans own reason is his best Oedipus."

Cain. See Genesis iv. 3 *sqq*.

Murtherer. For the spelling, see *murther*, p. 75.

beheld the practice and example: saw it carried into action and exemplified.

could not perswade. Adam could not believe that the proclaimed penalty of death would follow the eating of the forbidden fruit, and he ate of the fruit (Genesis ii. 17; iii. 6). When Abel lay dead, Adam saw the truth.

Section 5.

apprehends: is sensible of, feels the force of—obsolete usage.

neerly: closely, intimately, particularly.

weep most seriously. Alexander, the tyrant of Pheræ, is said by Plutarch to have once left the theatre while the *Troades* of Euripides was performing, ashamed (as he averred) to be seen weeping over the woes of Hecuba and Andromache when he himself had put many to death without mercy.

with true passion: emotion, feeling.

professed: openly declared.

Impostures: illusions, deceptions of feigned appearances—obsolete usage.

a passion...patience: an affection which singly (not multiplied) is more than he can endure. This meaning of *passion* is now obsolete.

the greatest affliction of Job: Job xix.

oblique expostulations: indirectly uttered remonstrances.

his Friends: have become proverbial as Job's comforters, an ironic designation for those who profess to sympathise and console but really make the sufferer's grief heavier to bear.

the down-right blows of the Devil: Job i. 6–ii. 10; for example, ii. 7: "So went Satan forth from the presence of the Lord, and smote Job with sore boils from the sole of his foot unto his crown."

Page 94.

to translate: transfer, transport, remove from one place to another.

a dimension: a measurable form or frame—obsolete usage.

insensible: so small as not to be perceived by the senses, inappreciable.

engross: monopolise, take exclusive possession of.

discuss them: shake off, drive away—obsolete usage. Compare Chaucer, *Boethius*, I. M. iii. *ad init.*: "Thus, whan that night was discussed and chased awey, derknesses forleften me." So in Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, III. i. 48.

the circle of another. *Circle* (like *compass* in "the narrow compass of myself," just below and on p. 97) means the circumscribed limits within which a man's own self is.

Damon...Patroclus: notable types of friendship in Classical story, as David and Jonathan in the Bible.

lay down his life: John xv. 13: "Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends."

vulgar affections: persons of ordinary, common-place feelings, lacking in refinement. See p. 95.

For my own part. Browne says that in his love to God, to his country, to his friends, he ever forgets himself.

the Schools: i.e. of philosophy, the scholastic philosophers.

ordain our affections: assign to our affections.

Parents...Friends. Compare Pope, *Essay on Man*, IV. 361 *sqq.*:

> "God loves from Whole to Parts: the human soul
> Must rise from Individual to the Whole.
> Self-love but serves the virtuous mind to wake,
> As the small pebble stirs the peaceful lake;
> The centre mov'd, a circle straight succeeds,
> Another still, and still another spreads;
> Friend, parent, neighbour, first it will embrace;
> His country next; and next all human race;
> Wide and more wide, th' o'erflowings of the mind
> Take ev'ry creature in, of ev'ry kind;
> Earth smiles around, with boundless bounty blest,
> And Heav'n beholds its image in his breast."

necessary: intimate, closely connected. This sense, following the Latin, is found in Wyclif and elsewhere, but is now obsolete. Here *necessary* might mean inevitable, binding. Compare pp. 68, 87.

PAGE 95.

I may love my friend. Compare Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, IV. ix. 1 *sq.*:

> "Hard is the doubt, and difficult to deeme,
> When all three kinds of love together meet,
> And doe dispart the hart with powre extreme,
> Whether shall weigh the balance downe; to weet
> The deare affection unto kindred sweet,
> Or raging fire of love to woman kind,
> Or zeale of friends combynd with vertues meet:
> But of them all the band of vertuous mind
> Me seemes the gentle hart should most assured bind.

For naturall affection soone doth cesse,
And quenched is with Cupids greater flame:
But faithfull friendship doth them both suppresse,
And them with maystring discipline doth tame,
Through thoughts aspyring to eternall fame:
For as the soule doth rule the earthly masse,
And all the service of the bodie frame,
So love of soule doth love of bodie passe,
No lesse then perfect gold surmounts the meanest brasse."

I never yet...woman. Between the writing and the publication of *Religio Medici*, Browne had married. See Introduction.

two natures: the divine nature and the human in Christ.

three persons: the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost in the Trinity.

one soul: in the case of close friends. Aristotle, according to Diogenes Laërtius, defined friendship as "one soul in two bodies." Compare Ovid, *Tristia*, IV. iv. 72:

"Qui duo corporibus, mentibus unus erant";

Augustine, *Confessions*, IV. (VI) 11: "Ego sensi animam meam et animam illius unam fuisse animam in duobus corporibus"; and Shakespeare, *Midsummer-Night's Dream*, III. ii. 211 *sq.*:

"Two lovely berries moulded on one stem;
So, with two seeming bodies, but one heart."

SECTION 6.

Enigma's. See p. 11, "Ænigma's."

our own selves. Like most early editions, that of 1682 omits *selves*; but it is required by the sense.

Idea: figure, likeness, picture—obsolete meaning.

falls not on: does not befall.

PAGE 96.

vulgar and common constitutions: coarse, unrefined and commonplace natures.

affect: have a liking for. See p. 102. So Shakespeare, *Twelfth Night*, II. v. 28.

without a catalogue: without naming, without enumerating. This use of *catalogue* = list, enumeration, is now obsolete or archaic.

a passing Bell. The church-bell was tolled for those "passing out" of the world, that the hearers might offer prayers for the dying persons. See p. 9.

no more...common nature: one who merely shares human nature with me, i.e. who is a fellow-mortal.

unknown: i.e. to him.

To pray for Enemies: as enjoined in the Lord's Prayer and in such passages as Matthew v. 44: "But I say unto you, Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them that despitefully use you, and persecute you."

the story of the Italian. See *Pseud. Epidem.* VII. 19:

"I am heartily sorry, and wish it were not true, what to the dishonour of Christianity is affirmed of the Italian; who after he had inveigled his enemy to disclaim his faith for the redemption of his life, did presently poniard him, to prevent repentance and assure his eternal death. The villany of this Christian exceeded the persecution of heathens, whose malice was never so longimanous as to reach the soul of their enemies."

Compare Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, III. iii. 73 *sqq.*, where Hamlet finds his uncle praying and might easily kill him, but, since that would be

> "To take him in the purging of his soul
> When he is fit and season'd for his passage,"

he resolves to postpone the deed till his uncle is

> "about some act
> That has no relish of salvation in't;
> Then trip him, that his heels may kick at heaven,
> And that his soul may be as damn'd and black
> As hell, whereto it goes."

See also Iden's wish after he has killed Cade (*2 Henry VI*, IV. x. 84 *sq.*):

> "And as I thrust thy body in with my sword,
> So wish I, I might thrust thy soul to hell."

votes: eager wishes—meaning now obsolete but common in early seventeenth century. Milton has it in *Areopagitica*.

PAGE 97. SECTION 7.

affections: feelings, impulses.

no such injury...no such revenge. See *Christian Morals*, I. 15:

"Let not the sun in Capricorn go down upon thy wrath, but write thy wrongs in Ashes. Draw the Curtain of night upon injuries, shut them up in the Tower of Oblivion, and let them

be as though they had not been. To forgive our Enemies, yet hope that God will punish them, is not to forgive enough; to forgive them our selves, and not to pray God to forgive them, is a partial piece of Charity: forgive thine enemies totally, and without any reserve that, however, God will revenge thee";

and *ibid.* III. 12:

"Answer not the Spur of Fury, and be not prodigal or prodigious in Revenge...Think that revenge too high, which is but level with the offence. Let thy Arrows of Revenge fly short, or be aimed like those of Jonathan, to fall beside the mark. Too many there be to whom a dead Enemy smells sweet, and who find Musk and Amber in Revenge. The ferity of such minds holds no rule in Retaliations, requiring too often a Head for a Tooth, and the supreme revenge for trespasses which a night's rest should obliterate...Since Women do most delight in Revenge, it may seem but feminine manhood to be vindictive. If thou must needs have thy Revenge of thine Enemy, with a soft Tongue break his Bones, heap Coals of Fire on his Head, forgive him, and enjoy it. To forgive our Enemies is a charming way of Revenge, and a short Cæsarian Conquest overcoming without a blow; laying our Enemies at our Feet, under sorrow, shame, and repentance; leaving our Foes our Friends, and solicitously inclined to grateful Retaliations. Thus to return upon our Adversaries is a healing way of Revenge, and to do good for evil a soft and melting ultion, a method taught from Heaven to keep all smooth on Earth.... If thou hast not Mercy for others, yet be not Cruel unto thy self. To ruminate upon evils, to make critical notes upon injuries, and be too acute in their apprehensions, is to add unto our own Tortures, to feather the Arrows of our Enemies, to lash our selves with the Scorpions of our Foes, and to resolve to sleep no more. For injuries long dreamt on take away at last all rest; and he sleeps but like Regulus, who busieth his Head about them."

to malign: to hate, dislike bitterly—obsolete meaning.

I am one: I am, it seems to me, one simply as the world is one. The world, in spite of its oneness, comprises an infinite number of distinct beings, which contain another world of opposites.

St. Paul: alluding to 2 Corinthians xii. 7: "...there was given to me a thorn in the flesh, the messenger of Satan to buffet me, lest I should be exalted above measure."

plays...at sharp: fights with the "button" off, fights in earnest, as opposed to fencing.

the compass of myself. See p. 94.

the battail of Lepanto: October 7, 1571, when the Turks were totally defeated in a naval fight against Venetian, Papal and Spanish galleys under Don John of Austria. Here it means a fierce conflict.

Passion against Reason. Compare p. 27.

dastards: cows, terrifies—obsolete form.

so soft. The 1682 edition, like others, reads *too soft*, though in the errata of the 1643 edition *so* was given as the correct reading.

scape: a little sin, a small fault, a thoughtless transgression —obsolete usage.

Original sin: man's innate depravity in consequence of Adam's fall. See p. 99.

Page 98.

no sins that want a name: no sins that are nameless. See *Pseud. Epidem.* VII. 19.

I am not singular...corruption. My offences are not peculiar to myself; they are such as are universal, they are from the corruption of my nature, the corruption which is common to all mankind. *Epidemical* is here in the obsolete sense of widely prevalent, universal. Compare the title of Browne's work—*Pseudodoxia Epidemica.*

tempers: constitutions.

humorous: freakish, eccentric, abnormal—archaic meaning if not obsolete.

vitiosities: vices, acts of viciousness—now obsolete in this sense. See p. 59.

admits. See Introduction.

carnal'd: had carnal intercourse—obsolete usage.

Statua: statue. *O.E.D.* gives examples of this Latin form in English writers, 1400–1700, and thinks it probably the correct reading in Shakespeare when a trisyllabic word is required, as in *Julius Cæsar*, II. ii. 76:

> "She dreamt to-night she saw my statua."

Compare *panoplia*, p. 77.

Nero. This is generally assumed to be a mistake for Tiberius, since the epithet *spintrian* (having to do with new and filthy abominations) fits in better with what we are told of Tiberius by Tacitus and Suetonius. In their story both Tacitus and Suetonius use the Latin original of *spintrian*. If anything led Browne to make this slip, it might be the fact that Tiberius

had in his name "Claudius Nero Cæsar," while Nero had in his "Nero Claudius Cæsar." See p. 91.

vulgarity: commonness, ordinariness, normality—obsolete usage.

sollicited: tempted, allured, enticed.

quotidian: daily and, therefore, ordinary.

necessarily: inevitably.

sute: a form of *suit*, found from the sixteenth century to the eighteenth.

this action: i.e. repentance.

Page 99.

great selves the world: the world is the macrocosm, the great universe, as contrasted with man, the microcosm, the little universe. See pp. 48, 55, 101, 105.

divided: discordant, standing at variance.

Antipathies. Such opposites as fire and water, light and darkness, duly proportioned and the one checking the other, preserve the common harmony. Hence we have cosmos not chaos.

Section 8.

inherit and hold from Adam. See p. 97, "Original sin."

Pride: the first of the seven deadly sins. See Chaucer, *The Persones Tale*, § 23, "Of the roote of thise sevene sinnes thanne is Pryde, the general rote of alle harmes; for of this rote springen certein braunches, as Ire, Envye, Accidie or Slewthe, Avarice or Coveitise (to commune understondinge), Glotonye, and Lecherye." Gower (*Confessio Amantis*, i.), says:

"Pride is the heved [head] of all sinne";

Dunbar makes Pride lead the dance of the seven deadly sins; Sir David Lyndsay (*Syde Taillis*) declares that

"pryde proceidis of the devill";

and Spenser (*Faerie Queene*, i. iv. 8 *sqq.*) introduces Pride as Queen Lucifera, while the other deadly sins are her "six sage counsellours."

in a condition: as a scholar.

conceits: ideas, opinions, their self-esteem.

add no feathers: do not make them rise higher, do not increase their glory. Compare the obsolete "pull the feathers off" =detract.

towr: rise aloft as a bird, soar—obsolete usage.

construction: construing—obsolete usage. See p. 61.

composure: composition—obsolete usage.

the Jargon and Patois: the lingo and dialect. *Jargon* means a barbarous or rude variety of language; *patois*, a dialect spoken by the common people and differing materially from the literary language.

no higher conceit: no higher idea.

Babel: Genesis xi. 1 *sqq*.

Climes: climates—obsolete usage. So p. 4.

Chorography: the configuration and other natural features of any region. Browne here marks off the word from *topography*, i.e. the features of a particular spot—city, manor, parish.

Policies: polities, constitutions, systems of government. The word is now uncommon in this sense.

Page 100.

nimbler: livelier, more alert, more imaginative.

conceited: holding a high idea of their powers. Perhaps we should understand the force of the comparative degree carried on from *nimbler* to *conceited*. See p. 66.

degree. Is it a geographical degree; or step in a general sense?

their Nests. They should have been filled with modesty, not with "conceit." For (Shakespeare, *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, I. i. 2):

> "Home-keeping youth have ever homely wits."

the pointers: two stars in the Great Bear, a straight line through which nearly "points" to the Pole Star.

conceit himself: imagine, fancy.

a whole Sphere. This is the old astronomical sense of the word (as on p. 69) employed as a standard of comparison to express a great difference in knowledge.

my Countrey: not England, but the district where Browne then was, viz. near Halifax.

Simpled: sought for, or gathered, simples, i.e. medicinal plants. Noun and verb are now both archaic.

Cheap-side: the great herb-market in Browne's day. Samuel Pepys notes in his *Diary* (February 13, 1659–60): "My mother sent her maid Bess to Cheapside for some herbs to make a water for my mouth." Benham (*Book of Quotations*) gives a London proverb: "Cheapside is the best garden." Compare Shakespeare, *Merry Wives of Windsor*, III. iii. 77 *sqq*.: "...these lisping hawthorn-buds, that come like women in men's apparel, and smell like Bucklersbury [Cheapside] in simple time." The parish where Browne was born, St Michael-le-Quern, was in Cheapside.

heads of capacity: men of ability. See p. 4.

the opinion of Socrates. The Delphic oracle once declared Socrates the wisest of men. To test the truth of this, he began to cross-examine statesmen, poets, and craftsmen. Though as ignorant as he, they fancied themselves wise; but Socrates was himself wiser, since he knew his ignorance. Plato, *Apology*, 20 E *sqq*.

Homer pin'd away. The story is that Homer once asked some fishermen if they had anything. They replied, "What we caught we left, what we did not catch we bring along." Unable to read the riddle, Homer died of vexation.

Aristotle. See *Pseud. Epidem.* VII. 13, which begins: "That Aristotle drowned himself in Euripus, as despairing to resolve the cause of its reciprocation, or ebb and flow seven times a day, with this determination, *Si quidem ego non capio te, tu capies me*, was the assertion of Procopius, Nazianzen, Justin Martyr, and is generally believed among us." For *flux and reflux*, see p. 20. Euripus, the narrow strait between Euboea and the mainland, has very fast tides.

unteach: cause us to give up former knowledge for newer and better. See *Pseud. Epidem.* I. 6.

all sorts: various schools of philosophy.

junior: youthful, juvenile—obsolete usage.

Peripateticks: Aristotelian, because Aristotle used to walk about in the Lyceum while teaching.

Stoicks. See pp. 23, 29, 62, 77.

Academicks: belonging to the school of Plato, who taught in the Academy, the garden near Athens. The same three schools are alluded to in *Christian Morals*, III. 21: "Sleep not in the Dogma's of the Peripatus, Academy, or Porticus."

Scepticks. See p. 77.

like Janus: i.e. facing both ways, with double face. Janus, the Roman tutelary god of the gate, was naturally represented (since the gate opened both ways) with two faces.

authentick: authoritative. See pp. 34, 90.

discourse: reason—obsolete usage.

PAGE 101.

Solomon. Browne is alluding to such passages in Ecclesiastes as i. 16 and vii. 23:

"I communed with mine own heart, saying, Lo, I am come to great estate, and have gotten more wisdom than all they that have been before me in Jerusalem: yea, my heart had great experience of wisdom and knowledge."

"I said, I will be wise; but it was far from me."

conceits: my exalted ideas of myself (as on p. 99); but in next line *conceit* is simply idea, thought.

attending: waiting—obsolete usage.

infusion: supernatural inpouring. Compare the "extemporary knowledge" of the angels, p. 46.

inquisition: investigation, research.

sit down in a modest ignorance: take a humble estimate of our small amount of knowledge.

sweat and vexation: a reminiscence of such passages in Ecclesiastes as i. 17 *sq.* and xii. 12.

which Death gives...and is. *Which* does double syntactical duty—as accusative and as nominative.

accessary: accompaniment, adjunct.

glorification: admission to the glorified state, to the bliss of heaven.

Section 9.

I was never yet once. Wilkin points out that in the manuscripts of *Religio Medici* and in the unauthorised editions the reading is: "I was never yet once and am resolved never to be married twice." When this was altered to the present form, Browne forgot that he had cut out the word *married* necessary to *I was*. Wilkin, followed by others, inserts [*married*].

disallow of: disapprove of. So in A.V. and other writings of the time.

The whole World was made for man. See Genesis i. 26; ii.; iii. 16; Psalms viii. 6 *sqq.*; 1 Corinthians xi. 3–12.

the twelfth part: the rib of Adam from which Eve was made. This explanation seems to be supported by the correspondence of the phrases:

"The whole World...man," "the twelfth part...woman,"

"Man is the whole World." "Woman the Rib."

If it is objected that then it should be not "twelfth" but "twenty-fourth," we may fall back on "the opinion [*Pseud. Epidem.* VII. 2] of Oleaster, that she was made out of the ribs of both sides, or such as from the expression of the text (*os ex ossibus meis*) maintain there was a plurality of ribs required." Other authorities find here an allusion to the division of the body into twelve parts, each dominated by one sign of the zodiac. This is set forth, e.g. by Manilius in *Astronomica*, II. 453 *sqq.*:

"Accipe divisas hominis per sidera partes
Singulaque in propriis parentia membra figuris,

In quis præcipuas toto de corpore vires
Exercent. Aries caput est ante omnia princeps
Sortitus, censusque sui pulcherrima colla
Taurus, et in Geminis æquali bracchia sorte
Scribuntur connexa umeris, pectusque locatum
Sub Cancro est, laterum regnum scapulæque Leonis;
Virginis in propriam descendunt ilia sortem;
Libra regit clunes, et Scorpios inguine gaudet;
Centauro femina accedunt, Capricornus utrisque
Imperitat genibus, crurum fundentis Aquari
Arbitrium est, Piscesque pedum sibi iura reposcunt."

The Old Farmer's Almanac contains a figure of the human body with lines drawn from its various parts to the symbols of the signs of the zodiac. Compare the humorous allusion in Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night*, I. iii. *ad finem*.

Man is the whole World: i.e. man as the microcosm. See pp. 99, 106.

the Breath of God. See p. 50.

the Rib. See p. 31.

trivial and vulgar: common and ordinary.

deject: cast down, depress. So p. 89.

Page 102.

averse from. See p. 84.

amorous of: in love with, enamoured of, fond of. So Keats, *Isabella*, XIX.:

"roses amorous of the moon."

temper: temperament, disposition, nature.

affect: love, be fond of. See p. 96.

the musick of the Sphears. It was a doctrine of Pythagoras that the "spheres" (see p. 49) in their motion each emitted a different note, and these combined formed a harmony. Long after this belief was discredited in astronomy, it was a favourite poetic convention. See Shakespeare, *Merchant of Venice*, V. i. 60 *sqq.*:

"There's not the smallest orb which thou behold'st
But in his motion like an angel sings,
Still quiring to the young-eyed cherubins;
Such harmony is in immortal souls;
But whilst this muddy vesture of decay
Doth grossly close it in, we cannot hear it";

and *Twelfth Night*, III. i. 121; *As You Like It*, II. vii. 6. Compare Milton, *Nativity Ode*, XIII.; *Arcades*, 62 *sqq.*; *At a Solemn Music*; *Comus*, 1021; *Paradise Lost*, V. 178, 620 *sqq.*; Pope, *Essay on Man*, I. 202.

declaim: harangue, talk oratorically and passionately. Not content with haranguing against church music, the extreme sectaries destroyed organs in churches and prohibited all singing worthy of the name. Shakespeare did more than merely "distrust the symmetry" of unmusical heads:

> "The man that hath no music in himself,
> Nor is not mov'd with concord of sweet sounds,
> Is fit for treasons, stratagems, and spoils;
> The motions of his spirit are dull as night,
> And his affections dark as Erebus:
> Let no such man be trusted."
>
> *Merchant of Venice*, v. i. 83 *sqq.*

from my obedience: as a churchman, as in duty bound.

embrace: accept gladly and with approval. See p. 55.

Tavern-Musick: e.g. the music of cornet, sackbut, and Jew's harp.

the first Composer: God, who is so called as the creator of harmony when he brought cosmos out of chaos.

in it: i.e. in music.

an Hieroglyphical : symbolical, emblematic.

shadowed: here synonymous with *hieroglyphical*. See pp. 12, 73.

a sensible fit: an audible strain of music. *Fit, fytte*, also denoted a section of a poem or song, a canto; as in Chaucer's *Sir Thopas*.

Plato: in *Phædo*, XXXVI. 86 C.

agrees: supply *with* in thought.

humours: acts in compliance with.

PAGE 103.

Tacitus: begins his *Annals* with what is a dactylic hexameter:

> "Urbem Romam in principio reges habuere."

Story: history. See p. 90.

Cicero. See p. 35. Browne employs *Ciceronian* to denote inferior poets (*Letter to a Friend*, XXI.). The allusion here is to the opening words of Cicero's plea for the Greek poet Archias:

> "In qua me non inficior mediocriter esse."

Numerous examples of dropping into verse can be found in prose. Proverbs iii. 17 (A.V.) is a "fourteener," and forms the half of a ballad stanza:

> "Her ways are ways of pleasantness,
> And all her paths are peace."

Colossians iii. 19 makes a hexameter:

"Husbands, love your wives, and be not bitter against them."

"A nation," wrote Goldsmith in *A Citizen of the World*, XXXIV, "famous for the setting the world an example of freedom, is now become a land of tyrants and a den of slaves." The closing words have so pronounced an iambic flow that he employed them in *The Traveller*, 309:

"A land of tyrants and a den of slaves,
Here wretches seek dishonourable graves."

See also Wilkin *ad loc.*, Bohn's edition, II. 440 *sq.* Consult Saintsbury's *English Prose Rhythm.*

revolve Ephemerides: turn over the pages, search through—now rare in this sense. See p. 22 for *Ephemerides*, with which *Almanacks* is here synonymous.

malignant Aspects. The relative position of heavenly bodies as they appear when viewed from the earth was the aspect, i.e. their look upon the earth. In astrology aspects are distinguished as good or bad. See pp. 8, 26.

fatal Conjunctions. When two planets, as visible from the earth, appeared to meet, they were said to be in conjunction. Certain conjunctions boded disasters.

Eclipses: were universally considered of ill omen. See Shakespeare, *Macbeth*, IV. i. 28; *King Lear*, I. ii. 112 *sqq.*; Milton, *Lycidas*, 101; *Paradise Lost*, I. 597, and XI. 183, where Verity quotes a sentence from Milton's *History of Britain*, which illustrates Browne's remark here: "The same year was seen an eclipse of the sun in May, followed by a sore pestilence."

unwholesome Springs. To rejoice at unwholesome seasons would in Browne's eyes be "sordid and unchristian," though according to Seneca, *De Beneficiis*, VI. 38 (quoted by Wilkin):

"Medicis gravis annus in quæstum."

Physicians find an unwholesome year profitable.

out of temper: out of harmonious balance in their natures—with a play on *out of temper* = peevish.

salary: fee—obsolete meaning.

that they be: because. Note *that* introducing a clause of reason, which follows a phrase of reason "for my own sake." See p. 8, note on "and that both."

apprehend: conceive, regard.

three Noble Professions: Church, Medicine, Law.

are raised upon the fall: are rendered necessary by the Fall, they are human contrivances, and, since to err is human, they have their weaknesses.

indissolvable: insoluble, inexplicable—obsolete form.
general Councils: Councils summoned by general invitation to the whole Church. See p. 9.

Page 104.

oft-times: supply in thought *condemns*.
yet were not: yet were [they] not. See p. 58.
the Sin: Matthew xii. 31.
Pride or Avarice: two of the deadly sins. See p. 99. Browne more than once condemns pride and avarice.
and shall: i.e. and [they] shall. See p. 58.
their precepts: i.e. the precepts of the theologians.
we all labour: Compare Walsh's *Sonnet*, part of which is:

> "What has this bugbear death that's worth our care?
> After a life of pain and sorrow past,
> After deluding hopes and dire despair,
> Death only gives us quiet at the last.
> How strangely are our love and hate misplaced!
> Freedom we seek and yet from freedom flee,
> Courting those tyrant sins that chain us fast,
> And shunning death that only sets us free."

Catholicon: panacea, "cure of all diseases," "universal remedy"—archaic word.
this: viz. death.
queasie: easily upset, viz. those unready for death.
prepared: those ready to die. Compare Shakespeare's "The readiness is all" (*Hamlet*, v. ii. 234).
Nectar: in Greek mythology, the drink of the gods, the use of which caused immortality.
potion of immortality: elixir vitæ, a draught having the property of prolonging life.

Section 10.

Conversation: intercourse, intimacy, society—obsolete usage.
like the Sun's: Matthew v. 45, where Christ, preaching perfect charity, gives as the motive "that ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven; for he maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good."
Methinks there is. It seems to me that no man is so bad as not to have some good in him, and the worst are also the best in some respect. Shakespeare found "some soul of goodness in things evil." See, for example, his Osric in *Hamlet*,

and his Shylock in *TheMerchant of Venice*. Compare *Christian Morals*, I. 28:

"When thou lookest upon the Imperfections of others, allow one Eye for what is Laudable in them, and the balance they have from some excellency, which may render them considerable. While we look with fear and hatred upon the Teeth of the Viper, we may behold his Eye with love. In venemous Natures something may be amiable: Poysons afford Antipoysons: nothing is totally, or altogether uselessly bad."

such...which: the older combination, now replaced by *such...as*. So in Shakespeare, *Coriolanus*, III. ii. 105; *Twelfth Night*, V. i. 358.

tunable: harmonious, concordant.

Magnæ virtutes: great virtues, and no less vices. Compare *Christian Morals*, I. 28:

"Notable Virtues are sometimes dashed with notorious Vices, and in some vicious tempers have been found illustrious Acts of Virtue; which makes such observable worth in some actions of King Demetrius, Antonius, and Ahab, as are not to be found in the same kind in Aristides, Numa, or David. Constancy, Generosity, Clemency, and Liberality have been highly conspicuous in some Persons not markt out in other concerns for Example or Imitation."

posie: motto, originally in verse. The word is now obsolete in this sense.

may be inverted. The "posie of the best natures" may be inverted so as to become "Magna vitia nec minores virtutes," and then applied to "the worst." As Keck puts it, "There are none so abandoned to vice, but they have some sprinklings of vertue." See part of Clarendon's character of Oliver Cromwell:

"Without doubt, no man with more wickedness ever attempted any thing, or brought to pass what he desired more wickedly, more in the face and contempt of religion and moral honesty; yet wickedness as great as his could never have accomplished those trophies without the assistance of a great spirit, an admirable circumspection and sagacity, and a most magnanimous resolution."

Another seventeenth-century notable who might be credited with "magna vitia nec minores virtutes" is Anthony Ashley Cooper, first Earl of Shaftesbury. Compare Shakespeare, *Coriolanus*, I. i. 33 *sqq.*: "...what he hath done famously...he did it to please his mother, and to be partly proud; which he is, even to the altitude of his virtue."

Antiperistasis: opposition by which the quality opposed gains strength.

become more excellent. See p. 91, "again, the community," etc.

PAGE **105.**

Corrosives: drugs whose action is to corrode chemically, contrasted here with "Balsomes," oily, resinous preparations to soothe or heal.

poisons contain. Compare "Poysons afford Antipoysons," in passage quoted from *Christian Morals* in note to "Methinks there is," p. 104.

commerce: intercourse.

that unruly regiment: that legion of evil passions. See p. 73. Compare *Christian Morals*, I. 2:

"Rest not in an Ovation, but a Triumph over thy Passions: let Anger walk hanging down the head; let Malice go manicled, and Envy fetter'd after thee. Behold within thee the long train of thy Trophies, not without thee. Make the quarrelling Lapithytes sleep, and the Centaurs within lye quiet. Chain up the unruly Legion of thy breast; lead thine own captivity captive, and be *Cæsar* within thyself";

and *ibid.* 24:

"Be not a *Hercules furens* abroad, and a Poltron within thy self. To chase our Enemies out of the Field, and to be led captive by our Vices; to beat down our Foes, and fall down to our Concupiscences; are Solecisms in Moral Schools, and no Laurels attend them. To well manage our affections and Wild Horses of Plato, are the highest Circenses; and the noblest Digladiation is in the Theater of our selves...And therefore, while so many think it the only valour to command and master others, study thou the Dominion of thy self and quiet thine own Commotions."

the man without a Navel: Adam, as not born of woman. See *Pseud. Epidem.* v. 5. The phrase is here a metonymy for "that original canker," original sin, alluded to on p. 99. Compare Shakespeare, *Henry V*, I. i. 28 *sq.*:

"Consideration, like an angel, came
And whipp'd the offending Adam out of him."

So "the old man," in the New Testament, e.g. Romans vi. 6; and in *De Imitatione Christi*, III. 34, 3: "Adhuc, proh dolor, vivit in me vetus homo."

Defenda me Dios de me. This Spanish petition is like Augustine's "Custodi, libera me de meipso, Deus," Lord, keep me, deliver me from myself.

Letany: obsolete form of *litany*.

retired imaginations. See p. 11, "my solitary recreation."

Nunquam minus: never less alone than when alone. Cowley begins his Essay "Of Solitude":

"'Nunquam minus solus, quam cum solus,' is now become a very vulgar saying. Every man, and almost every boy, for these seventeen hundred years has had it in his mouth. But it was at first spoken by the excellent Scipio, who was without question a most eloquent and witty person, as well as the most wise, most worthy, most happy, and the greatest of all mankind."

Swift, Gibbon and Rogers repeat the saying, and Byron (*Childe Harold*, III. xc.) adapts it:

"In solitude, where we are *least* alone."

The source is Cicero (*De Officiis*, III. i. *ad initium*), who on Cato's authority attributes the apophthegm to Publius Scipio Africanus the elder, and calls it a splendid utterance worthy of a great and a wise man: *nunquam se minus otiosum esse quam cum otiosus, nec minus solum quam cum solus esset.*

Apothegme. This spelling, says *O.E.D.*, "was the more usual till preference was expressed in Johnson's *Dict.* for *apophthegm*, which is now more frequent in England." "Now," says Webster, "usually spelt *apothegm* in the United States."

a man is never alone. See p. 13.

who ever...solitude. It was in the wilderness that the devil tempted Christ.

those disordered motions: impulses that are morally irregular, disorderly, riotous, "that unruly regiment," just above. *Motions* is now obsolete in this sense.

sequestred imaginations. See p. 11.

narrowly: precisely.

who is his own circle. See p. 12, note to "Hermes."

Page 106.

dissimilary: dissimilar; synonymous with *heterogeneous*. *Dissimilary* is a seventeenth-century form, now obsolete.

concourse. See pp. 26, 30.

society: association for the purpose of helping, co-operation —obsolete sense. *O.E.D.* has only one example, dated 1586.

Section 11.

a miracle of thirty years. He has been preserved in many wonderful ways. See p. 60.

not a History...Poetry: not a bald recital of facts, but something with a touch of Poetry, something romantic. Compare Carlyle, *Sir Walter Scott*: "...there is no life of a man, faithfully recorded, but is a heroic poem of its sort, rhymed or unrhymed."

not an Inn, but an Hospital. Cicero (*De Senectute*, XXIII. 84) calls life an inn, a hostelry wherein to sojourn, not to abide: "ex vita ita discedo tamquam ex hospitio, non tamquam e domo; commorandi enim natura divorsorium nobis, non habitandi dedit." Keats (*Nightingale Ode*, 24 *sqq.*) calls the world the place

> "...where men sit and hear each other groan;
> Where palsy shakes a few, sad, last gray hairs,
> Where youth grows pale, and spectre-thin, and dies."

the other: i.e. the other world, the macrocosm, what is outside his "own frame." So below, "than the great" [world].

my Globe: a sphere on the surface of which is figured a geographical representation of the earth.

err in my Altitude: make a mistake in regard to my eminence in scale of being.

I am above Atlas his shoulders: I am a world in myself. Atlas, one of the Titans, was condemned to bear the world on his head and hands. A representation of this used to appear as a frontispiece to a volume of maps.

a point: a mere point, infinitely small.

that mass of Flesh: the body. Compare p. 52.

that surface: my body, which "circumscribes" my real self.

three hundred and sixty: i.e. degrees. In circular-arc measurement the circumference is reckoned to be 360 degrees. Hence the phrase immediately after: "the number of the Ark." *Ark* is an older spelling of *arc*.

a piece of Divinity: a part of the divine nature. See p. 72: "that translated divinity and colony of God, the Soul." Compare Horace, *Satires*, II. ii. 79: "divinæ particulam auræ."

owes no homage: does not depend on the sun (for light and heat and life) as a liege man depends on his liege lord.

PAGE **107**.

Scripture: Genesis i. 27.

the Alphabet: the ABC, the rudiments, "his introduction or first lesson."

Ruat...tua: Though heaven fall, thy will be done. In the generation before Browne's time and during his lifetime, various forms of this saying are recorded: "Fiat justitia et ruat mundus"; "Fiat jus et pereat mundus"; "Fiat justitia,

ruat cælum"; while George Herbert (*Country Parson*, XXIX.) gives us a parallel:

"Do well and right, and let the world sink."

Compare the concluding sentence of *Religio Medici*.

salveth. See p. 32.

what our daily prayers desire: "Thy will be done," in the Lord's Prayer.

realty: reality—obsolete usage.

neerer apprehension: closer perception, more intimate understanding.

my happy dreams. See a paper on dreams by Browne, beginning: "Half our days we pass in the shadow of the earth; and the brother of death exacteth a third part of our lives." Bohn's ed. III. 342 *sqq*. Compare Byron, *The Dream*, 5 *sqq*.:

"And dreams, in their development, have breath,
And tears, and tortures, and the touch of joy;
They leave a weight upon our waking thoughts,
They take a weight from off our waking toils;
They do divide our being; they become
A portion of ourselves as of our time,
And look like heralds of eternity;
They pass like spirits of the past; they speak
Like sibyls of the future; they have power—
The tyranny of pleasure and of pain;
They make us what we were not—what they will,
And shake us with the vision that's gone by."

a fit of happiness: a sudden transitory state, a spell.

conceit: idea, thought.

that the conceits: that the ideas of this life are as mere dreams compared to the ideas of the next; as the illusions of the night are empty dreams compared to the ideas of the day. For *to*, see p. 90.

ligation: binding, shutting up, suspension—obsolete sense.

PAGE 108.

my Ascendant. At my birth, says Browne, the sign of the zodiac which was in the ascendant was Scorpius, the Scorpion. He was born on the 19th of October. This method of denoting times and seasons is not uncommon. See Chaucer, *Prologue*, 7 *sq*.:

..."the yonge sonne
Hath in the Ram his halfe cours y-ronne";

and Milton, *Paradise Lost*, I. 769:

"In spring-time, when the Sun with Taurus rides."

the Planetary hour of Saturn. In Astrology the planetary hour is the twelfth part of the natural day (from sunrise to sunset) and of the natural night (from sunset to sunrise). Each of these—also called unequal hours, since they vary in length—was supposed to be dominated by a planet, the first hour of any day by the planet after which it is named. The 19th of October, 1605, Browne's birthday, was a Saturday. "The first houre inequal," says Chaucer, *The Astrolabe*, Part II, § 12, "of every Satterday is to Saturne; and the secounde, to Iupiter; the 3, to Mars; the 4, to the Sonne; the 5, to Venus; the 6, to Mercurie; the 7, to the Mone; and thanne agayn, the 8 is to Saturne; the 9, Iupiter; the 10, to Mars; the 11, to the Sonne; the 12, to Venus." The 15th, and the 22nd will also be ruled by Saturn. See Skeat's notes here and on *The Knightes Tale*, 2217. Browne treats of this, *Pseud. Epidem.* v. 24.

that Leaden Planet. The metal associated by the alchemists with Saturn was lead. See note on "solary," p. 71. Saturn, owing to its remoteness and slowness of motion, was regarded as producing in any person it influenced, a cold, sluggish, gloomy temperament. *O.E.D.*, under the year 1647, has an instance which aptly illustrates the present passage: "Saturne, that leaden planet, did cast his melancholy influence over all his intellectuals."

galliardize: gaiety, revelry—archaic usage.

compose a whole Comedy. Compare, *The Spectator*, No. 487:

"In the second place, dreams are an instance of that agility and perfection which is natural to the faculties of the mind, when they are disengaged from the body. The soul is clogged and retarded in her operations, when she acts in conjunction with a companion that is so heavy and unwieldy in its motion. But in dreams it is wonderful to observe with what a sprightliness and alacrity she exerts herself. The slow of speech make unpremeditated harangues, or converse readily in languages that they are but little acquainted with. The grave abound in pleasantries, the dull in repartees and points of wit. There is not a more painful action of the mind than invention; yet in dreams it works with that ease and activity that we are not sensible of when the faculty is employed. For instance, I believe every one, some time or other, dreams that he is reading papers, books, or letters; in which case the invention prompts so readily, that the mind is imposed upon, and mistakes its own suggestions for the compositions of another."

Addison then quotes part of what Browne says here.

Coleridge's famous fragment, *Kubla Khan*, was composed in a dream. He had fallen asleep as he was reading in a volume of *Purchas's Pilgrimage*.

"The Author continued for about three hours in a profound sleep, at least of the external senses, during which time he has had the most vivid confidence, that he could not have composed less than from two to three hundred lines; if that indeed can be called composition in which all the images rose up before him as *things*, with a parallel production of the correspondent expressions, without any sensation or consciousness of effort. On awaking he appeared to himself to have a distinct recollection of the whole, and taking his pen, ink, and paper, instantly and eagerly wrote down the lines that are here preserved."

After writing down fifty-four lines, he was interrupted; and when he was able to resume his pen, he could not recapture the rest of his poem.

grosser: duller, more material, less refined.

abstracted: withdrawn from the contemplation of things present. So below "abstracted and ecstatick."

Aristotle: defines sleep as an absence of motion, *ἀκινησία*, which Galen qualifies by saying that during sleep the muscles are not always in quiescence.

Noctambules: somnambulists—literally night-walkers. The word is now obsolete.

Morpheus: son of Sleep and god of dreams. His name means moulder, fashioner, because he shaped dreams.

ecstatick: in a trance.

corps. See pp. 9, 52.

inform: animate. See p. 15.

departure: death—obsolete or archaic.

speak...above themselves. Compare Shakespeare, *Merchant of Venice*, I. ii. 30 *sq.*:

"Your father was ever virtuous; and holy men at their death have good inspirations";

and Campbell, *Lochiel's Warning*:

"'Tis the sunset of life gives me mystical lore."

This prophetic gift in the hour of death is attributed also by Shakespeare to John of Gaunt (*Richard II*, II. i. 31), and to Hotspur (1 *Henry IV*, V. iv. 83).

Compare also Waller:

"The soul's dark cottage, battered and decayed,
Lets in new light through chinks that time hath made;

Stronger by weakness, wiser men become
As they draw near to their eternal home;
Leaving the old, both worlds at once they view,
That stand upon the threshold of the new."

ligaments: ties, bonds. See p. 54.

PAGE 109. SECTION 12.

We tearm sleep a death. So in poem below, p. 110. Shakespeare calls sleep "the death of each day's life," *Macbeth*, II. ii. 38; and exclaims, "O sleep, thou ape of death," *Cymbeline*, II. ii. 31. The comparison of sleep to death is one of the commonplaces of literature. Compare *Christian Morals*, II. 13:

"He who had been thus [in sleep] destroyed would hardly have bled at the presence of his destroyer; when Men are already dead by metaphor, and pass but from one sleep unto another."

those spirits that are the house of life: those spirits in which life dwells.

Themistocles: the renowned Athenian, victor over the Persians at Salamis. This story is told of other Greeks; and in *Christian Morals*, II. 13, we find:

"The Turkish Emperour, odious for other Cruelty, was herein a remarkable Master of Mercy, killing his favourite in his sleep, and sending him from the shade into the house of darkness."

Lucan and Seneca. See pp. 30, 57. Both were ordered to die by Nero, and both had their veins opened. In *Christian Morals*, II. 13, Browne writes:

"That the smoothest way unto the grave is made by bleeding, as common opinion presumeth, beside the sick and fainting Languors which accompany that effusion, the experiment in Lucan and Seneca will make us doubt; under which the noble Stoick [Seneca] so deeply laboured, that, to conceal his affliction, he was fain to retire from the sight of his Wife, and not ashamed to implore the merciful hand of his Physician to shorten his misery therein."

The physician's hemlock was useless, and at last Seneca was carried into a bath, where the hot steam suffocated him. See Tacitus, *Annals*, XV. 60 *sqq.* and 70.

dye daily. See p. 63.

a middle and moderating point: away from the two extremes of life and death.

Compare Byron, *The Dream*, 1 *sqq.*:

"Our life is twofold: Sleep hath its own world,
A boundary between the things misnamed
Death and existence: Sleep hath its own world,
And a wide realm of wild reality."

Colloquy: dialogue, conversation—here used of the prayer.

thee: accusative form instead of nominative, here most likely influenced by the rime. In the Elizabethan times there was much interchanging of nominative and accusative in the pronouns. Euphony and emphasis frequently seem to be the aim. See Abbot, *Shakespearian Grammar*, 205 *sqq.*; Kellner, *English Syntax*, §§ 211 *sqq.* Compare Shakespeare, *Macbeth*, III. iv. 14:

"'Tis better thee without than he within";

and *Coriolanus*, I. i. 236:

"I would wish me only he."

centry keep: keep watch like a sentry. The form *centry* is now obsolete.

Let no dreams my head infest. With this and other passages in Browne's hymn, editors compare the following extracts from Bishop Ken:

"Let no ill dreams disturb my rest,
No powers of darkness me molest." *Evening Hymn.*

"Teach me to live, that I may dread
The grave as little as my bed." *Ibid.*

"Awake, my soul, and with the sun
Thy daily stage of duty run." *Morning Hymn.*

It is interesting to note that Browne and Ken were both Winchester boys.

Jacob's temples: Genesis xxviii. 12 *sqq.*

wrought: accomplished, ended.

PAGE 110.

Howere: howe'er

at last: seems the better reading. The variant *at least* is found in many early editions.

Securely: with confidence. So "in security," just below. See pp. 11, 47.

my drowsie days: my days on earth, when I am not really awake, when I wake merely "to sleep again."

Dormative: soporific, sleeping-draught. This curious spelling, with *a* instead of *i*, may have resulted from the vowel in *dormant*.

Laudanum: opiate.

Section 13.

The method: viz. that of geometrical proportion. Browne means that he treats others better than he wishes to be treated himself. The words *commutative* and *distributive* take us back to Thomas Aquinas and other Schoolmen. Aristotle had divided justice into τὸ ἐν τοῖς συναλλάγμασι διορθωτικόν, i.e. the justice which is corrective in transactions between man and man, the justice of a contractor, the just performance of a promise or bargain; and τὸ διανεμητικόν, i.e. the justice which distributes according to desert. The former was translated *commutativa justitia* by Aquinas, the latter *distributiva justitia*. Bacon (*Advancement of Learning*) asks if commutative justice is not as arithmetical proportion, distributive as geometrical.

equable: characterised by fairness, justice—obsolete usage.

supererogate: do more than one is bound to do.

Do unto others: Luke vi. 31, and Matthew vii. 12.

freedom...frankness: liberality...generosity—both in obsolete senses.

to conceive...dead. Compare Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy*, I. iii. 1. 2: "Men supposing themselves to be dog, cock... glass, butter."

beyond the power of Hellebore: beyond the possibility of cure. Hellebore was of old in great repute as a remedy for madness. Horace, discussing various types of madmen, says (*Satires*, II. iii. 82 *sq.*):

> "Danda est ellebori multo pars maxima avaris;
> Nescio an Anticyram ratio illis destinet omnem."

By far the greatest amount of hellebore should be given to the avaricious; for aught I know, a just view would assign all Anticyra to them.

The opinions of Theory: theoretical opinions.

positions: propositions, assertions, tenets.

practised conclusions: practical decisions, actual practice. For the importance of conduct as compared with belief, see *Christian Morals*, I. 17:

> "However thy understanding may waver in the Theories of True and False, yet fasten the Rudder of thy Will, steer strait unto good, and fall not foul on evil. Imagination is apt to rove, and conjecture to keep no bounds. Some have run out so far, as to fancy the Stars might be but the light of the Crystalline Heaven shot through perforations on the bodies

of the Orbs. Others more ingeniously doubt whether there hath not been a vast tract of Land in the Atlantick Ocean, which Earthquakes and violent causes have long ago devoured. Speculative Misapprehensions may be innocuous, but immorality pernicious: Theoretical mistakes and Physical Deviations may condemn our Judgments, not lead us into Judgment; but perversity of Will, immoral and sinfull enormities walk with Adraste and Nemesis at their Backs, pursue us unto Judgment, and leave us viciously miserable."

that Snow is black: a belief attributed to Anaxagoras. Compare *Pseud. Epidem.* I. 11. See p. 73.

PAGE 111.

that the earth moves: Copernicus, for example. Browne did not accept the view of Copernicus. See p. 113; and *Pseud. Epidem.* I. 5. In Browne's day, the Ptolemaic theory of the universe was that generally received, while the Copernican was as generally derided. Professor Masson points out that Milton, though perhaps in his later days persuaded of the higher probability of the Copernican, retained the Ptolemaic for poetical purposes in *Paradise Lost.* Masson quotes from Sylvester's Translation of Du Bartas, *La Semaine de la Création,* where among the "brain-sicks," "preposterous wits," are classed:

> "Those clerks that think—think how absurd a jest!—
> That neither heavens nor stars do turn at all
> Nor dance about this great round Earthly Ball,
> But the Earth itself, this massy globe of ours,
> Turns round about once every twice-twelve hours."

Another of Masson's quotations suitably illustrates Browne's allusion to Anaxagoras and Copernicus.

"His [Milton's] friends and literary associates, the *Smectymnuans,* at all events, in their answer to Bishop Hall's "Humble Remonstrance" (1641), had cited the Copernican doctrine as an unquestionable instance of supreme absurdity. 'There is no more truth in this assertion,' they say of one of Bishop Hall's statements, 'than if he had said, with Anaxagoras, "Snow is black," or with Copernicus, "The Earth moves, and the Heavens stand still."' There cannot be a more distinct proof than this incidental passage affords, of the utter repulsiveness of the Copernican theory to even the educated English intellect as late as the middle of the seventeenth century."

See also Milton, *Paradise Lost*, IV. 592 *sqq.*, VIII. 130 *sqq.*, with Verity's notes.

that the Soul is air. Diogenes Apolloniates held this view (Aristotle, *De Anima*, 405 *a*). So did Anaximenes, who postulated air as the primordial substance out of which all things had been made. To Hippo the soul was water (*ibid.* 405 *b*), to Democritus fire (*ibid.* 403 *b*, *sq.*). Thales also regarded water as the origin of all, Heraclitus fire.

speculate: consider attentively, contemplate—obsolete or at least uncommon usage.

dotage: imbecility.

subterraneous...Earth: gold. Browne (*Letter to a Friend*, XXIII) calls avarice "not only Infidelity but Idolatry," following Ephesians v. 5; and Colossians iii. 5. Compare Wordsworth's *Sonnet*, "O Friend! I know not":

> "Rapine, avarice, expense,
> This is idolatry; and these we adore."

an Atheist: i.e. as regards that "God of the Earth"—gold.

that the World: what the World.

virtue: efficacy, healing power. Compare Luke vi. 19: "And the whole multitude sought to touch him: for there went virtue out of him, and healed them all"; and Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, IV. vii. 144 *sqq.*:

> "No cataplasm so rare,
> Collected from all simples that have virtue
> Under the moon, can save the thing from death."

its prepared substance. *Aurum potabile*, potable gold, was regarded for long as a sovereign remedy for certain maladies. See *Pseud. Epidem.* II. 5, where Browne discusses gold as a medicine, in the passage beginning: "That gold inwardly taken, either in substance, infusion, decoction, or extinction, is a cordial of great efficacy, in sundry medical uses, although a practice much used, is also much questioned, and by no man determined beyond dispute"; and III. 22.

Compare Chaucer, *Prologue*, 443 (with Skeat's note):

> "For gold in phisik is a cordial";

and Shakespeare, 2 *Henry IV*, IV. v. 161 *sqq.*:

> "Therefore, thou best of gold art worst of gold:
> Other, less fine in carat, is more precious,
> Preserving life in medicine potable."

the Indies: frequently used, as here, to indicate a region of untold riches. So "Peru," below. Compare Shakespeare, *Merry Wives of Windsor*, I. iii. 77.

Aristotle. Browne is hardly fair to Aristotle. In the *Nicomachean Ethics*, IV. i. 19, we are told that liberality lies not in the amount given but in the disposition of the giver; and that he who gives less, if he has less to give from, may be the more liberal. Later, *ibid.* ii. 3, Aristotle says that only the man of large means can be munificent.

the Mite: alluding to the well-known story of the widow (Mark xii. 41 *sqq.*; Luke xxi. 1 *sqq.*) who cast two mites into the treasury, and of Christ's declaration that she had given more than all the others, i.e. judged by the measure of self-sacrifice.

poor men may also build. Compare *Letter to a Friend*, XXIII.:

..."surely where good Wishes and charitable Intentions exceed Abilities, Theorical Beneficency may be more than a Dream. *They* build not Castles in the Air who would build Churches on Earth; and tho they leave no such Structures here, may lay good Foundations in Heaven."

honest stratagem. Compare "honest artifice," p. 66.

in one circumstance...in another: in amount...in intention.

I have not Peru in my desires: I am not desirous of vast wealth. For this use of *Peru*, see Isaac Watts, who sang:

"I would not change my native land
For rich Peru with all her gold."

Compare also "Indies," above.

PAGE 112.

He that giveth: a variation on Proverbs xix. 17: "He that hath pity upon the poor lendeth unto the Lord; and that which he hath given will he pay him again." Compare *Christian Morals*, I. 6:

"Spare not where thou canst not easily be prodigal, and fear not to be undone by mercy. For since he who hath pity on the poor lendeth unto the Almighty Rewarder who observes no Ides but every day for his payments, Charity becomes pious Usury, Christian Liberality the most thriving industry, and what we adventure in a Cockboat may return in a Carrack unto us. He who thus casts his bread upon the Water shall surely find it again; for though it falleth to the bottom, it

sinks but like the Ax of the Prophet, to arise again unto him." See also p. 85.

Rhetorick: persuasive eloquence. See pp. 6, 29, 85.

Sentences: sentiments, maxims—obsolete usage. See Shakespeare, *Merchant of Venice*, I. ii. 11.

Emphasis: force, special significance.

honest by an Epitome. We reach the root of the matter and, by a short cut as it were, arrive at goodness. Compare *Christian Morals*, III. 4:

"To be Honest in a right Line, and Virtuous by Epitome, be firm unto such Principles of Goodness, as carry in them Volumes of instruction and may abridge thy Labour. And since instructions are many, hold close unto those whereon the rest depend. So may we have all in a few, and the Law and the Prophets in a Rule, the Sacred Writ in Stenography, and the Scripture in a Nut-Shell."

This passage of *Religio Medici* is eulogised by Addison, *The Spectator*, No. 177.

scenical: imaginary, not real, not genuine, mere show.

accidental. See p. 75.

untoucht: i.e. by outward and accidental circumstances.

Centoes: rags and patches.

mutilate: mutilated—obsolete form. After *mutilate* understand *bodies* from *semi-bodies*. A newspaper advertisement (January, 1921) had: "Wanted partly or unfurnished room."

semi-bodies: imperfect bodies.

alloy: mixture, composition, quality. Here the word has no suggestion of admixture of base metal.

whose Genealogy...ours: i.e. their Father, as ours, is God. The 1682 reading *Gods* (genitive singular) does not give the required sense. The 1643 edition and others have *God*.

Statists: statesmen—now archaic but very common in seventeenth century. Milton has it in *Paradise Regained*, IV. 353 *sqq.*:

"Their orators thou then extoll'st as those
The top of eloquence—statists indeed,
And lovers of their country, as may seem";

and in *Areopagitica*, "to thinke ye better pleas'd with publick advice than other statists have been delighted heretofore with publicke flattery."

So in Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, v. ii. 33; and *Cymbeline*, II. iv. 16.

not understanding only: i.e. not only not understanding. This use of *not only* for *not only not* is a distinct Latinism.

In Latin *non modo* has, under certain conditions, the force of ***non modo non***. See Introduction.

the prophecie. One manuscript quotes "The poor ye shall have always with you." The original, however, is not a prophecy but a statement—Matthew xxvi. 11: "For ye have the poor always with you"; and John xii. 8: "For the poor always ye have with you." In Deuteronomy it is a prophecy: "For the poor shall never cease out of the land" (xv. 11).

Section 14.

this I think charity: Christian love—obsolete usage.

to love God...and our neighbour: Matthew xxii. 37 *sqq.*:

"Jesus said unto him [a lawyer, one of the Pharisees], Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind.

This is the first and great commandment.

And the second is like unto it, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.

On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets."

Compare Chaucer, *Prologue*, 531 *sqq.*:

"A trewe swinker and a good was he [the Plowman],
Livinge in pees and parfit charitee.
God loved he best with al his hole herte
At alle tymes, thogh him gamed or smerte,
And thanne his neighebour right as him-selve."

amiable: lovable.

reflex. See p. 16.

Page 113.

insensible part: not to be perceived by the senses. So p. 94.

but himself, and. Other editions read: "but himself; he loves us but for that part which is as it were himself, and."

the traduction of: what is transmitted from. See p. 51.

call to assize: bring to strict scrutiny, to trial.

dumb shows. In the early drama, the dumb show was a part of the play represented by action without speech.

our bed: figuratively employed for bedfellow, wife.

picture of Posterity: our children, in whom we see posterity as in a picture. *Posterity* means those living after we are dead, a later generation. Browne contrasts it with *progeny*

in *Christian Morals*, III. 22: "His Progeny may never be his Posterity; he may go out of the World less related than he came into it."

no steady mansion: no permanent dwelling-place, no permanent footing, no fixity.

our ends: our death.

SECTION 15.

under...the Sun: on this earth; but, adds Browne, Copernicus would say "above the sun." See p. 111. Copernicus was born in 1473 at Thorn in West Prussia, then part of Poland, but before his death in 1543 incorporated in the state of Brandenburg. He represented the sun to be at rest in the centre of the universe with the earth and the other planets moving round it. He devoted his life to the demonstration of this system. It was developed by astronomers like Kepler, Galileo and, above all, Newton. Copernicus's work was received with favour by Catholic churchmen; but Luther dubbed him an arrogant fool in contradicting Scripture and Melanchthon wished the secular power to suppress such pestilential teaching.

Crambe: wearisome, distasteful repetition. Compare *The Garden of Cyrus*, V.: "crambe verities and questions overqueried." *Crambe* is ultimately from Greek *κράμβη*, cabbage, as in the proverb *δὶς κράμβη θάνατος*. Compare the mediæval Latin "crambe bis cocta, bis posita"; and Juvenal, *Satires*, VII. 154:

> "Occidit miseros crambe repetita magistros,"

which Gifford translates:

> "Till, like hash'd cabbage, served for each repast,
> The repetition kills the wretch at last."

burthen: chief theme, leading idea. For the confusion of *burthen*, load, and *bourdon*, a low undersong, see *O.E.D.*

the wisdom of Solomon: in Ecclesiastes, where (i. 2) we read: "Vanity of vanities, saith the Preacher, vanity of vanities; all is vanity"; and (*ibid.* 14): "all is vanity and vexation of spirit." These phrases occur again and again in the book. Hence Browne calls them "that repeated verity and burthen."

no felicity. Compare *Letter to a Friend*, XXIV.: "as well understanding there are not Felicities in this World to satisfie a serious Mind"; and *Christian Morals*, III. 11: "Certainly true Beatitude groweth not on Earth, nor hath this World in it the Expectations we have of it."

in that: in that which, in what.

the Idea's of Plato. To Plato *idea* meant an eternally existing pattern of a class of things. Of the pattern the individual things are imperfect copies, and from it they derive their existence.

his summum bonum: Aristotle's chief good, as the ultimately determining principle in his system of ethics: viz. *εὐδαιμονία*, well-being, felicity.

Chimæra: wild fancy.

PAGE **114.**

in whose defect: for want of which.

Metaphor: figure, trope.

a story out of Pliny: and therefore, marvellous, incredible. See p. 30.

a tale of Boccace or Malizspini: a mere romance, a mere fable. Boccaccio (1313–1375) was the great Italian story-teller, author of the *Decameron*. Malespini, born about 1540, was the author of *Ducento Novelle*.

neat: pure, unadulterated.

Cæsar: has been explained as = absolute monarch, autocrat —a meaning found, e.g. in Shakespeare, *Richard III*, IV. iv. 336. Compare the use of *kayser*. Browne, however, might be alluding to the great Dictator, Caius Julius Cæsar; or he might be employing the word as the title of the Roman Emperors from 30 A.D. to about 140. So in Matthew xxii. 21: "Render therefore unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's."

APPENDIX

ADDITIONAL NOTE ON "DEFENDA ME DIOS DE ME," PAGE 105

The source of this was unknown to editors of *Religio Medici* till Professor Edward Bensly discovered the saying in Guevara, who attributes it to the Marquis of Santillana.

"El buen marques de santillana dezia y dezia muy bien en una su copla. En la guerra que posseo, siendo mi ser contra si: pues yo mismo me guerreo, defienda me dios de mi." Antonio Guevara: *Epistolas Familiares*, Segunda parte (Valladolid, 1545), folio lxxiii [wrongly printed lxxix].

INDEX TO NOTES

able, 192
Abraham's bosom, 130
Academicks, 241
acceptions, 180, 197
access, 118
accidents, 174
accuse for, 187
Actius, 229
Adam, 125, 183, 185, 226, 233, 239, 248
admire, 134
adventurous, 138
advisoes, 146
Ælian, 150
Ænigma's, 127
Æson, 192
affect, 235, 243
affection, 146, 177, 179, 197, 236
alarm, 124
à la volée, 226
Alcoran, 156
Alexander of Macedon, 161, 213
Alexander of Pheræ, 233
allow, 188, 194
altitude, 250
amazed at, 185
amiable, 261
amorous of, 243
amphibology, 199
anarchy, 218
anatomy, 183, 187, 220
Anaxagoras, 257
angel, 155
answered, 156
Anthropophagi, 181
Antichrist, 121, 200
anticks, 191
antimetathesis, 179, 192
antipathies, 194
antiperistasis, 248
apothegme, 249
appurtenances, 164
Arabians, 123
archaic usages, *passim*
Archidoxis, 147
Arethusa, 122
argue, 212, 213
arguments, 129
Arians, 126
Aristotle, 128, 131, 160, 177, 206, 212, 241, 253, 259, 263
ark=arc, 250
Armada, 142
Armado, 143
artist, 204
ascendant, 251
Ascendens constellatum, 170
aspects, 122, 229. 245
aspire (verb), 218
aspires (noun), 173
assassine, 231
assayed, 120
astrologers, 200
Atlas, 250
Atomist, 217
Atropos, 232
attending, 242
auditories, 179
Augustine, 153, 179, 198
aurum potabile, 258
authentick, 156
Ave-Mary Bell, 118

Babel, 240
Baldwin, 164
balsomes, 248
bar, 198
basilisco, 229
βατραχομυομαχία, 228
bed, 261
beholding, 196
Belshazzar, 143
beneplacit, 218
benevolous, 145
Bevis, 151
Bible allusions and quotations, *passim*
blast, 130

Boccaccio, 263
boisterous, 147
book, by the, 214
bottom, 116, 193
bowels of pity, 224
brooded, 171
burthen, 262
byas, 223

Cæsar, 263
Cæsar, Caius Julius, 161
caitiff, 227
Calvin, 119
canicular, 190
cantons, 136
carnal'd, 238
carnified, 181
catalogue, 235
catholicon, 246
Cato, 194
centoes, 260
centry, 255
challenge, 124
changelings, 169
chaos, 140, 141, 185
characters, 226
charity, 116, 220, 261
Cheapside, 240
chimæra, 263
chiromancy, 226
Chiron, 215
chorography, 240
christallized, 208
Cicero, 157, 192, 196, 244
circle, 234
circumference, 209
circumstantial, 145
civility, 137
climacter, 165
climate, 221
clime, 115, 240
coale, 172
Codrus, 195
Colossus, 137
combustion, 157
commutative, 256
compass, 234
complemented, 145
complexionably, 126
complexioned, 232
composure, 239
compute, 200
conceit (noun), 124, 210
conceit (verb), 148
conceited, 209
concourse, 146, 249
condition, 219, 239
conformant, 178
confound, 134
conjunctions, 245
consequence, 117, 155
consist, 119
consorts, 118
Constance, Council of, 161
constellated, 221
construction, 239
conversation, 117, 246
converse, 117
conversion, 138, 203
Copernicus, 257, 262
corporal, 175
corps, 124, 180, 253
corpulency, 177
corrosives, 248
corruptions, 204
cosmography, 138
countrey, 240
crambe, 262
crany, 180
crasis, 180
Cretians, 231
curiosity, 152, 166
curious, 136, 137
Curtius, 195
Cynics, 188

damnable, 217
dastards, 238
Defenda me, 248
define, 163
delivers, 167
Delphos, 133, 166, 199
Democritus, 229, 231, 258
departure, 253
despight, 115
dichotomy, 126

dimension, 233
Diogenes, 123, 188, 213
disallow, 242
disapproving, 119
disavouched, 119
discourse, 241
discuss, 233
disposeth, 143
dissembled, 211
dissimilary, 249
distributive, 256
divinity, 186, 250
doradoes, 223
dormative, 255
dormitories, 183
Dort, Synod of, 119
Du Bartas, 137, 257

eclipses, 244
edified, 152
effront, 187
elder, 129
eleemosynaries, 224
elegant, 204
elemental, 181
Elias, Elijah, 148
Elias the Rabbin, 199
emerals, 205
emori nolo, 196
empyreal, 205
engines, 137
enharden, 187
Enoch, 158
entelechia, 128
ephemerides, 141, 245
Epicurus, 148
epicycle, 122
epidemical, 238
equable, 256
equal, 184
equivocal, 132
Esdras, 164
essence, 135, 207
estranged, 203
ethnick, 159
Euripides, 203
Eve, 125, 152, 219
exaltation, 186
excess, 118
expans'd, 139
experience, 204
extemporary, 173
extremity, 119
Ezekiel, 204

familiarly, 154
Familist, 217
Fiat lux, 175
filed, 223
first moveable, 176
fit, 244, 251
flie, 135
fougade, 142

gale, 172
Galen, 135, 180
galliardize, 252
Garagantua, 151
glome, 193
glympse, 175
graffs, 223
gramercy, 142
grammatical constructions: *other than*, 115; *both*, 118; *there hath been many*, 123; *if...that*, 123; *without*, 125; *elder then*, 129; *been* omitted, 130; *repent me*, 133; *that=that that*, 133, 262; infinitive, 134; *from whence*, 139; *so...as*, 140; *these pair*, 146; *could not chuse but*, 156; *had him done*, 163; *deny but*, 174; *that...as*, 179; *accuse for*, 187; *can away with*, 187; subject omitted, 188; *be* indicative, 194; use of adjective, 201; inflection of comparison omitted, 202; obsolete use of *other*, 210; *for to be*, 221; *which* nominative and accusative, 242; *that* for *because*, 245; *such... which*, 247; accusative for nominative, 255
Grand Seignour, 143

graphical, 226
gravelled, 150
greener, 122
grotesques, 136
guild, 223
Gunpowder Plot, 142

Habakkuk, 174
habits, 164
heads, 118
Helena, 164
helix, 144
Henry VIII, 120
Hermes Trismegistus, 128, 132, 171
Herodotus, 166
Hester (Esther), 166
hieroglyphical, 244
hieroglyphicks, 139
Holland, 143
Homer, 145, 241
homicide, 163
Horæ combustæ, 197
horoscope, 130, 197
howere, 255
humane, 142
humorous, 238
Huss, 161
Hydra, 222
hypostasis, 174

idea, 218, 235, 263
idio-syncrasie, 221
implicite, 121
impostures, 233
impulsions, 224
in, 180
incomprehensible, 212
Indies, 163, 259
indifferency, 115, 162, 179
indifferent, 145
indisputed, 136
indissolvable, 246
inducible, 203
inform, 131, 253
infusion, 242
inoculation, 223
instances, 131
intellectual, 206
intelligences, 144
intreat, 184
invention, 201
Ipsa sui pretium, 202
item, 200

Janus, 241
jargon, 240
Job, 196, 233
Josephus, 148
jubilee, 189
Judas, 154
judicial astrology, 145
Julian the Emperor, 203
junior, 241
Justine, 167

laudible, 232
Lazarus, 227
lecture, 156
legacied, 228
legion, 209
Le mutin Anglois, 231
Lepanto, 238
letany, 249
ligation, 251
limb, 227
Limbo, 211
liquation, 207
live, 128
livery, 202, 227
Lucan, 188, 194, 198, 254
Lucian, 149, 203, 228
Lucifer, 125, 209
Luther, 116, 119

Machiavelli, 149
Magdalene, 209
Magnæ virtutes, 247
Maid of Germany, 169
major, 232
Malespini, 263
malice, 124, 185
mansion, 177
materialled, 182
mediocrity, 119
Megasthenes, 166

Memento mori, 198
Memento quatuor Novissima, 198
metamorphosis, 169
metempsychosis, 123
meteors, 134
microcosm, 175
minor, 222
miracles, 163
mock-show, 190
monstrosity, 222
moral, 224
moralists, 224
morality, 182
Morpheus, 253
mortified, 204
Moses, 133, 167, 176, 206, 207
motions, 249
motives, 149
motto, 226
multitude, 221
murther, 211
murtherer, 233
mutilate, 260
mystery, 159, 230
mystical, 186

national repugnances, 221
Natura nihil agit frustra, 136
naturality, 147
naturally, 204, 214
Nature, 138, 139
Nebuchodonosor, 182
necessarily, 239
necessary, 227, 234
necessity, 149
Nero, 231, 238
noctambuloes, 253
Non occides, 232
nullity, 178
numerical, 174, 204
numerous, 222
Nunquam minus solus, 249

O Adam quid fecisti?, 183
object, 219
obsolete usages, *passim*
œconomy, 126
Œdipus, 121
offensive, 124
omniety, 178
operator, 178
opponent, 156
opticks, 197
oracles, 165
Origen, 124
original, 157
original sin, 238
orison, 124

panoplia, 214
Pantagruel, 152
pantalones, 191
Paracelsus, 147, 170, 179
parenthesis, 228
particular, 153
party, 228
passing bell, 235
passion, 224, 228, 233
pates, 228
patois, 240
patron, 121, 229
Paul, 127, 130, 186, 204, 205, 237
Peripateticks, 241
perpend, 212
persist, 145, 207
perspective, 206
pertinacy, 124
Peru, 259
perverts, 140
Peter, 131, 217
Phalaris, 212
Philo, 156
philosophers' stone, 201
philosophy, beware of, 132
physiognomy, 225
phytognomy, 226
Pia Mater, 127
Piæ fraudes, 164
Pineda, 158
planetary hour, 252
Plato, 123, 131, 171, 173, 179, 182, 244, 263
Pliny the Elder, 150, 263
plunged, 150

Plutarch, 165
pointers, 240
policies, 240
Pope, 120, 189
Porphyry, 173
portract, pourtraict, 132, 227
pose, 127, 164, 199
posie, 247
posterity, 261
predestination, 130
pregnant, 170
preheminence, 223
prejudicate, 149
prejudice, 156
prescious, 130
pretend, 217
pride, 239
Priscian, 228
probable, probably, 148, 153
process, 154
produce, 192
profound, 134, 213
progenies, 187
prognostick (verb), 217
prognosticks (noun), 170
proper, 129, 182
prophan'd, 231
provoking, 213
Ptolomy, 156
pucellage, 129
punctual, punctually, 154, 198
purlue, 208
Pythagoras, 132, 181

quære, 148, 199
Quantum mutatus, 187
queasie, 246
question, 152, 164
questionless, 118

Rabbin, 152, 169
radical balsome, heat, humour, 171, 193
railed into, 232
realty, 251
recompensive, 201
rectifie, 191
reflex, 124
refrain, 156
regiment, 248
Regio-Montanus, 137
region, 171
reliques, 164
respective, 201
restrain, 216
retaining to, 184
revenge, 236
revivification, 203
revolve, 245
Rhadamanth, 198
Rhetorick, 121, 149, 214, 224, 260
riddle, 214
Rodomontado, 188
roundles, 132
Ruat cælum, 250

salary, 245
salve, 153
Samaritans, 159
Saturn, 252
satyrs, 121
scales, 132
scandal, 120
scape, 238
scarce, 228
Scepticks, 213, 241
Scevola, 195
schools, 126, 139
Scorpius, 251
secondine, 186
securely, 255
semi-bodies, 260
Seneca, 150, 196, 202, 254
sensible, 118, 185
sentences, 260
shadow, shadowed, 209, 244
sharp, 238
shew, 151
Sibyl, 198
signatures, 224
simpled, 240
singular, 126, 146
singularity, 125
society, 249

Socrates, 162, 241
solary, 207
Solomon, 133, 136, 157, 217, 241, 262
solstice, 166, 172
sortilegies, 144
souldiers, 161
species, 206
specifical, 207
speculations, 134
spends, 228
sphere, 240
spheres, music of, 243
spintrian, 238
spoiled, 207
station, 139
statists, 260
statua, 238
stealing, 182
stint, 157
Stoics, 142, 197, 207, 213, 241
story, 230, 244
Strabo, 216
straight (=strait), 216
Suarez, 136
sub-reformists, 216
suggesting, 182
suicide, 194
sundry, 135
superannuated, 191
supposed, 152
supputation, 145
sute, 239
sympathetic cures, 147
sympathizeth, 221
synod, 218

tables (=backgammon), 144
Tacitus, 244
Tartaretus, 152
temper, 192, 243, 245
tender, 162
tenents, 153
Tertullian, 127
text, 119
textuary, 207
Themistocles, 254
throughly, 174
Timon, 122
to, 230
towr, 239
traduction, 179, 261
trajection, 232
transpeciate, 169
traverse, 211
treasure, 135, 227
trenchers, 181
Trent, Council of, 119
triumvirate, 146
tropick, 172
truth in a well, 134
Turks, 160
tutelary, 155, 173

ubi, 186, 209
ubiquitary, 177
under-heads, 214
utinam, 159

vacant, 152
Vatican Library, 157
venerable, 202
Venice, 120, 213
venny, 214
ventilation, 172
verse in prose, 244
vertue, virtue, 171, 258
vespilloes, 183
Virgilius, Bishop, 16
visitation, 140
vitiosity, 192, 238
vitious, 202
vizards, 167
votes, 236
vulgar, 133
vulgarity, 216, 239

ward, 214
wilderness, 203
wingy, 126
worser, 192

zeals, 118, 219
Zeno, 194
Zoroaster, 157

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